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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE of SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER OF

HENRY THE GREAT.

Newly tranſlated from the French edition of M. de L'ECLUSE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

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SUMMARY of the BOOKS in VOLUME III.

SUMMARY of BOOK XIII.

MEmoirs of the year 1602. Foreign princes at Paris. Henry IV. goes to Blois: the occaſion of his journey. An account of Marechal Biron's conſpiracy: a council held at Blois upon this occaſion. A deſign formed to arreſt the Dukes of Epernon and Bouillon: the firſt clears his conduct; the great art and addreſs of the ſecond. Quarrel between the King and Queen: Henry's converſation with Roſny upon this ſubject. The effects of Henry's journey into the provinces; he reſolves to have Biron arreſted: particulars of his and the Count d'Auvergne's impriſonment; and of Biron's trial and execution: Roſny's behaviour throughout this affair. Henry pardons the Baron de Lux, and the Count d'Auvergne, who again betrays him: reaſons why he behaved in this manner to the Count d'Auvergne The Prince of Joinville arreſted: the King pardons him alſo; but he is confined in priſon. The Duke of Bouillon artfully avoids coming to court. The courtiers endeavour to raiſe ſuſpicions in Henry againſt Roſny: curious converſations betwixt them on this occaſion. Affair of the advocates: diſcourſe of Sigogne. Edicts and regulations upon the coin, commerce, finances, &c. Mines diſcovered in France. Edict againſt duels. The alliance with the Swiſs renewed. Journey of Henry to Calais. Account of the military exploits between the Spaniards and Dutch; and other foreign affairs.

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SUMMARY of BOOK XIV.

Memoirs of the year 1603. Troubles at Metz: Henry goes thither and baniſhes the Sobolles: other affairs tranſacted in this journey. Memorial againſt the Cardinal d'Oſſat: examination of the ſentiments and conduct of the Cardinal. Affairs of the Low Countries. Intrigues of the Duke of Bouillon, and new ſeditions of the Calviniſts. Death of Eliſabeth. James I. King of Great Britain. Henry's return: his converſation with Roſny upon the death of Eliſabeth: reſolves to ſend Roſny ambaſſador to London: deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court, upon this embaſſy. Indiſpoſition of the King. Public and private inſtructions given to Roſny: his departure with a numerous retinue. Character of young Servin. Roſny embarks at Calais; inſulted by the vice-admiral of England: his reception at Dover, at Canterbury, &c.; he is received in London with the higheſt honours: his ſeverity in the affair of Combaut. State of the political affairs of Great Britain. Character of the Engliſh: of King James: of the Queen, &c. Several factions at this court. Roſny's conferences with the Engliſh counſellors; with the deputies of the States-general; with the reſident from Venice, &c. He obtains his firſt audience: he is concerned at not being permitted to appear in mourning.

SUMMARY of BOOK XV.

Farther memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of Roſny's embaſſy to London: detail of what paſſed at his firſt audience: public converſations of the King of England with him upon different ſubjects. Accidents at the court of London favourable

able and unfavourable to this negotiation. Diſpoſitions of the different courts of Europe. Roſny's firſt conference with the Engliſh miniſters. Intrigues of Spain. Roſny's ſecond audience, and private converſation with King James; he perſuades him to ſupport the United Provinces: other affairs tranſacted between them: his ſecond conference with the Britiſh miniſters, who endeavour to overthrow his negotiation. Imprudent proceedings of Count d'Aremberg. Third audience. Roſny admitted to the table of the King of England: public converſations on different ſubjects. Third conference with the Engliſh miniſters and the deputies of the United Provinces. Artifice and perfidy of Cecil. Fourth audience: private converſations with King James, to whom he communicates the political deſigns of Henry IV. and Eliſabeth, and endeavours to gain his approbation of them: a ſhort abſtract of theſe deſigns: James declares himſelf publicly in Roſny's favour.

SUMMARY of BOOK XVI.

Farther memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of the embaſſy and negotiations of Roſny at the court of London. Form of a treaty with his Britannic Majeſty: ſubſtance of this treaty. Diſpatches from Roſny intercepted. Audience of leave, and Roſny's laſt converſation with K. James: preſents which he makes in London; his return: dangers at ſea: his reception from Henry IV.: public converſation between them on the ſubject of his negotiation. Memoirs of the ſtate of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries. Roſny reſumes his labours in the finances. Henry ſupports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the Count de Soiſſons; he entertains

tertains the King at Roſny. Journey of Henry into Normandy: what paſſed in this journey. Mutiny of the Proteſtants of the aſſembly of Gap. Roſny made governor of Poitou. Eſtabliſhment of the ſilk manufactory in France: converſations on this ſubject, in which Roſny endeavours to diſſuade Henry from this deſign. Remarks on his opinion of wearing ſilk, and on other parts of luxury. A colony ſettled at Canada.

SUMMARY of BOOK XVII.

Memoirs of the year 1604. Medals preſented to his Majeſty by Roſny. Death of the Ducheſs of Bar: particulars concerning her death, and the diſputes which it occaſions. Deliberations upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits. Converſations of Roſny with Henry, and the aguments which he urges againſt their re-eſtabliſhment: the conditions upon which they are recalled: protection granted them by Henry. Father Cotton makes his court to Roſny. Memorial againſt Cardinal D'Oſſat. Sentiments of Roſny not favourable to this Cardinal, or the policy of the Catholics. Treachery of Nicolas L'Hôte; how diſcovered: particulars upon this ſubject. Villeroi's conduct examined. Roſny's ſentiments upon the difference of religion. Promotions of Cardinals, and affairs of Rome. Curious converſation of Henry with Roſny, upon the domeſtic diſorders occaſioned by the Queen and the Marchioneſs of Verneuil.

SUMMARY of BOOK XVIII.

Farther memoirs of the year 1604, Continuation of the preceding article, upon the diſquiets and domeſtic quarrels of Henry IV. Roſny endeavours

vours to put an end to them; the risk he run upon this occasion from the Queen and the Marchioness of Verneuil; her malignity. Wise and disinterested conduct of Queen Margaret. Faction of the Protestants and seditious in the kingdom. Henry's journey to the provinces designed and prevented. Rosny visits his government: how received at Rochelle, at Poitiers, &c. Hatred of the Protestants against him: other particulars and advantages of this journey: his reception from Henry at his return. Justification of the Duke d'Epernon: falsely accused. New intrigues of the Count d'Auvergne: means used by Henry to have him arrested: letters which he received and wrote to him: an account of his being seized: his trial. The Marchioness of Verneuil is likewise arrested: Rosny is employed to interrogate her: he can, neither by advice nor intreaties, persuade Henry to banish her from France. Weakness of this prince for his mistress.

SUMMARY of BOOK XIX.

Farther memoirs of the year 1604. Henry IV. deposits his treasure in the Bastile: a council held on this occasion. Considerations and maxims of Rosny upon government: means he makes use of to recover money. *Verification of rents*: other operations and tail of the finances. Regulations of the police and army. Establishment of a military hospital. The talents and abilities of Henry IV. for government. Causes of the weakness of states. Rupture between France and Spain, on account of commerce. Peace restored by Rosny, by means of a treaty: particulars and substance of the treaty. Further account of the affairs of the United Provinces, of Spain, and of England. Agreement and treaty between the two last powers. Causes of the discontent

disconten of the United Provinces against England. The Constable of Castile comes to Paris: his conversation with the King. Other conversations between Henry and Rosny concerning this ambassador. Erroneous maxim of Rosny's on the Salic law. Introduction to the execution of Henry's great designs. Affairs of the Grisons, and of the fort of Fuentes: proceedings of the French; and other particulars of this affair. Dispute with the Pope on the subject of the bridge of Avignon; terminated by Rosny in favour of the King. The acquisition of the earldom of Saint Paul: prudent advice given by Rosny to Henry on this occasion. Religious orders established in France.

SUMMARY of BOOK XX.

Memoirs of the year 1605. Conclusion of the process against the Counts of Auvergne and Entragues. Complaisance and weakness of Henry IV. for the Marchioness of Verneuil. The Jesuits procure the demolition of the pyramid. Great dispute between Rosny and Father Cotton, on the subject of the college of Poitiers: defends himself against the calumnies of his enemies: his reconciliation with Father Cotton: he quarrels with the Duke d'Epernon and Grillon: their reconciliation. Instances of the fantastical humour of Grillon. New calumnies against Rosny, by which he is in danger of being disgraced. An affecting conversation with Henry, in which they are reconciled: an interesting detail of this whole affair. Other attempts of Rosny's enemies to ruin him: marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Rohan. Henry refuses to give the lieutenance de Roi of Saint Jean d'Angely to the Duke of Rohan: other favours and gratuities granted and refused to Rosny by the King. Henry's design to marry Mademoiselle de Melun to the Marquis of Cœuvres.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XIII.

THE perturbation in the minds of the people, occaſioned by all thoſe domeſtic inſurrections mentioned in the preceeding book, did not hinder them from reſigning themſelves, this winter, to their accuſtomed pleaſures and public diverſions. By the Queen's order, and for her amuſement, a magnificent interlude was compoſed; the arſenal was the place the King choſe for the repreſentation of theſe diverſions, on account of the conveniency its ſpacious apartments afforded, both for the actors and ſpectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the neceſſary orders at the arſenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its repreſentation; but the King choſe rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded that entertainment eight days.

Towards the middle of Lent, the Count of Schomberg, Grand Marechal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a retinue of 40 or 50 horſe. The King ordered the ſame honours to be paid him that the Marechal de * Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, ſon to the Marquis of Brandenbourg, reſided ſome time at Paris. It was not uſual to defray the expences of perſons of his rank, eſpecially, as his Majeſty obſerved, if they did not follow the court: but the King was reſolved to ſhew a particular reſpect to a prince, whoſe family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Germany, had always profeſſed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to ſend him every day, in his Majeſty's name, preſents of the richeſt wines, and moſt exquiſite proviſions for his table.

When every thing was ready for the King's departure, and his Majeſty, in the ſeveral journies he had made to Paris, had given all the neceſſary orders for ſecuring peace and tranquillity in that city, and in the provinces from which he was going to remove, as well as thoſe through which he was to paſs, he left Paris on the 20th of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The Queen and all her houſehold accompanied his Majeſty in his journey; I likewiſe attended him, but did not ſet out till a few days after: the King ſent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of ſtaying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than neceſſary for a regimen that was preſcribed him by his phyſicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it laſted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewiſe was the moſt proper city he could chuſe to

* Urban de Laval, Marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

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discover the secret practices of Marecal Biron. Henry had many persons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themselves solely to the making those discoveries, and almost every hour sent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured. By them the King was informed, that Biron's cabal extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, Mirebalais, Chatelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limosin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was supported by four or five noblemen of the court, whose names were not expressed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful. The connections with Spain, the schemes for surprising the frontier cities, and the arguments they made use of to instigate the people against the present government, (the same which I have already mentioned), made up part of these advices, and to them the following new informations were added.

The seditious, to prepossess the people with unfavourable thoughts of his Majesty's journey to Blois, which was doubtless a source of uneasy apprehensions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a design to chastise severely those that had resisted Jambeville, D'Amours, and the other commissaries that had been sent to exact the duty of 5 *per cent.* upon the rivers and other places of passage, and to settle it himself, in such a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it should produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on salt to be every where received by taking possession of the salt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than some ill paid annuities from the town-house of Paris; and, lastly, to stop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raise, (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the Pope's permission

to levy), and the revocation of the drawbacks granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the several districts.

Thus was this good prince represented, almost throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one set of arguments to engage the Catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition amongst the Protestant officers and gentry. To the first they represented, that this treasure and this formidable artillery, which the King was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a state of slavery; they persuaded the second, that the persecution against them was already begun, that the payment of their garrisons, the funds for the preservation of their cities, the pensions of their leaders, their officers and ministers, would be lessened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be so much the less difficulty in depriving them of all their fortresses, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council, to exclude the Protestants from all public offices and employments, by refusing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs against the persons of the conspirators had been as clear as those of their plots, the King might that instant have given free course to his justice; but, with regard to the Dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet less certainty of their guilt, than of Marechal Biron and the Count d'Auvergne's; for at the most there were only suspicions, tho' those indeed were very strong against them. The other Lords of the court, whose names, to the number of eight, were found in the list, might be well ranged under a third class of persons, whose doubtful conduct required some explanation. The Dukes of Bouillon and E-

pernon

pernon attended the King in his journey to Blois, and his Majesty was of opinion, he might be able to draw from themselves a proof of their real sentiments, by attentively observing the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began first with D'Epernon. A just regard to truth has so often reduced me to the necessity of speaking disadvantageously of this nobleman, that it is with a real satisfaction I seize this opportunity of shewing his innocence, and giving him the praise he deserves.

D'Epernon hearing whispers about the court of intrigues and cabals, easily apprehended, that, as it is usual to judge of the present by the past, his name would not fail to be mentioned among those that were called enemies to the state; for which reason he took the precaution to renew to his Majesty at Fontainebleau his assurances of fidelity. These assurances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced against him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithstanding this step he still continued to suspect him, and because D'Epernon, in speaking to him had referred to me, the King wrote to me at Paris an account of what had passed between him and the Duke, letting me know, at the same time, that D'Epernon seemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the first advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged should appear to be yet only intentional, his Majesty might not have any cause to reproach himself with having suffered the Duke to rush into actual treason, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him from so doing.

I obeyed the King's orders; and from that moment, became convinced of the Duke of Epernon's innocence. He spoke in the same strain to the King at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny

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his having heard of commotions and secret intrigues, but said, that these were always so general, and sometimes so full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that those who were said to be the authors or favourers of these plots having never given him the least intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, as a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the present situation of affairs rendering the execution of it absolutely impossible: but whether real or not, the Duke offered to continue about his Majesty's person, as a security for his own fidelity, for the space of six months; and if that time was not sufficient, he swore to the King, that he would not leave his Majesty till his suspicions were entirely removed. The King could have no objection to so reasonable a propoſal; and began, as well as I, to believe that the Duke d'Epernon was innocent.

The Duke of Bouillon discovered far less sincerity. On the first mention his Majesty made of the plot to him, he treated it as a calumny invented by spies and informers, against the nobility of the kingdom, to magnify their own services, and appear at least to gain the money that was given them for undertaking that despicable office. To this reproach, which tacitly attacked his Majesty, he added an application of a passage in the New Testament, "It is "impossible but that offences will come, but woe "unto him through whom they come;" a passage, which, if taken in its true sense, might have been with more justice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not stop here; he added, that it was true he was told, that the Catholics, as well as the Protestants, complained of their being oppressed with high taxes; and that, in proportion as the King's riches and happiness increased, they became poor and miserable: that besides these general complaints, he had, in a certain place, heard

Protestants

Proteſtants ſay, that ſooner or later it would be their deſtiny, to be looked upon as the plague and nuiſance of the ſtate; that both they and their children would be hated, perſecuted, and proſcribed; that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to theſe reports, becauſe that perſons of the greateſt abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor conſulted in affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new taxes impoſed, they could not inform the people of the true motive of thoſe reſolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attribute them to any thing but to a deſign againſt their liberty.

It was ſufficiently plain, that the Duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, ſought to inſinuate to the King, that all theſe reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppreſſed with a multitude of taxes; and that this ſeeming diſcontent was put on to conceal from his Majeſty his real ſentiments; but the inſolence and ſeverity of his expreſſions ſhewed plainly enough that he could not reſiſt this opportunity of diſcharging ſome part of his malice: he even added, with the ſame ſubtlety, and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to perſuade himſelf, that his Majeſty intended to aboliſh the privileges of his viſcounty of Turenne, and to purchaſe the rights and claims of the houſe of Mark upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to every thing elſe, he had ony replied, that he was perſuaded the King would never act in ſuch a manner, on account of the ſervices he had at all times received from the Proteſtant body; he finiſhed, by proteſting to his Majeſty, that although all that had been told him concerning the ſeditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom ſhould be as true as he believed them falſe, yet, as

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to himself, it should never make him swerve from his duty and fidelity.

The King, dissembling to the Duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from his discourse, made him a proposal of the same nature with that which the Duke of Epernon had of himself so frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confusion. He told the Duke, that he was satisfied with his assurance; and that he would no longer preserve any remainder of distrust of him, provided he would give the same satisfaction that Epernon had offered, which was, not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation; and that he might depend upon it, he would not keep him about his person without communicating to him all his designs, and calling him to his councils, as he seemed to desire, that he might be himself a witness of his solicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both the Protestants and Catholics an incontestable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preserved an uncommon presence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and surprise at the sentiments his Majesty discovered for him; and as to the proposal he made him, he told him, that he would go and settle his matters for complying with it, not for six months only, but for his whole life, if necessary, by taking a journey throughout all his estates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long stay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his Majesty required, he reserved, nevertheless, the power of doing only what he pleased himself, and of making a plausible excuse for the sudden departure for which he was really preparing.

Henry, comprehending his design, resolved to call a secret council to deliberate upon the measures that were necessary to be taken in this conjuncture.

The Count of Soiſſons, the Chancellor, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and myſelf, were all that were preſent at this council: all other affairs were poſtponed till Deſcures was heard, who had been ſent by his Majeſty to invite Marechal Biron to court, and whoſe report was ſuch, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to arreſt this Marechal and the Count d'Auvergne as ſoon as they arrived. The King afterwards propoſed to our deliberation, whether it would not be proper to do the like by the Dukes of Bouillon and Epernon, before they left the court. Almoſt all the councellors were of this opinion, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, qualified it no otherwiſe, than by ſaying, that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended becauſe that doing nothing by himſelf, he would eaſily be reduced to reaſon, when he was ſeparated from thoſe who hurried him on to his ruin. I take particular notice of this advice upon account of its ſingularity.

My opinion was directly oppoſite. I could not approve of the arreſting of Epernon, or even of Bouillon. If in ſuch caſes, ſuſpicions were to ſerve for proofs, it was likewiſe neceſſary, I ſaid, to arreſt all whom La Fin had accuſed, and myſelf the firſt. Let us ſuppoſe, they ſhould afterwards be found innocent, by this precipitate action, an opportunity might be loſt of ſeizing Biron and Auvergne, whoſe treaſons were manifeſt, ſince it would be impoſſible to arreſt them all at the ſame time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing againſt the priſoners. The arreſting of Bouillon and Epernon, I added, would have this farther ill conſequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his Majeſty could not, after ſuch a ſtep, avoid treating them as traitors, through a juſt fear of what their reſentment only of ſuch a public outrage might induce them to act againſt him. The King yielded to this advice, and the

council broke up, it being already dinner-time. His Majesty being desirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me snatch a soldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

When I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a croud of people who attach themselves to men in power, I saw the Duke of Epernon advancing to meet me, who, with the same air of conscious innocence which I had before observed in him, told me, that such long and secret councils alarmed a great many persons, but he was not of the number, because he had nothing to reproach himself with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the King being more disposed to pardon the guilty, who confessed their crimes, than to punish the innocent on suspicions only. "I "perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court; but those whose consciences are "clear, need not have recourse to that expedient." "I am one of these," added Epernon; "and I "am resolved not to leave the court while these discontents continue." "You cannot do better, "my Lord," replied I; "and I promise you that, "on this occasion, you shall not lose the merit of "having taken so good a resolution."

When I came home, I ordered my steward to omit one entire course, and to serve up any thing that was ready. Nicolas * came in just as I was sitting down to table: "Come wash immediately," said I, without telling him of the orders I had just given, "and take your place." He was greatly astonished to hear me, after I had drank two glasses,

* Simon Nicolas was the King's secretary, "a poet, a facetious "man, and an old offender, says the journal of Henry IV. believing "in God only for interest, and, for this reason, he became the more "acceptable to company, according to the corrupt manners of those "wretched times." He died two years after, in the 70th year of his age, in his last illness expressing himself with such infamous impiety, as will not admit a translation.

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and eaten a hafty morſel, aſk for the fruit, and, at the ſame time, order my horſe to be got ready: he who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleaſed at this order. "*Pardieu*, Monſieur," ſaid he, "I am not ſurpriſed that you paſs for one of "the wiſeſt noblemen in France; I don't know one "who can drink three glaſſes during the whole time "you are at dinner." "Well, well, Monſieur "Nicolas," replied I, "do you make an end of "your dinner, as for me, I have buſineſs that calls "me elſewhere."

I related to his Majeſty what D'Epernon had ſaid to me a little time before. The King agreed with me that D'Epernon had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by perſons, whoſe religion and diſpoſition were different from his, by which likewiſe, while he had no advantages to hope for, he run the hazard of being ſtript of his eſtates and employments. D'Epernon had judgement enough to know that the ſcheme of theſe rebels was likely to be a fatal one. "Not," ſaid the King, "that probably in his heart he is not glad of theſe "diſorders, that he may become more neceſſary to "me; but he knows by experience ſuch deſigns "are often blaſted." His Majeſty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the Dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to ſtay at court, but to defer it till he went to Poitiers, becauſe he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours for this purpoſe, in the preſence of Meſſieurs de La Noue, de Conſtant, d'Aubigné, and de Preaux; but all I could ſay was ineffectual.

During their Majeſties ſtay at Blois, an air of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under ſome perplexity how to relate, becauſe it made too much noiſe to be paſſed over in ſilence; and yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, leſt I ſhould betray the ſe-

cret confided to me alone by the King and Queen, whom it perſonally concerned; the medium therefore which I ſhall obſerve, is to recount only ſo much of it as tranſpired, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

It was reported, that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between the King and Queen, which was confirmed by the King's ſending Armagnac for me ſo early in a morning, that he was ſtill in bed, as well as the Queen, and, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, each in their ſeveral apartments. It was obſerved, that I had been ſeveral times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been ſeen kneeling three or four times before the King and Queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain ſome great favour of them. As nothing in ſuch caſes eſcapes the inquiſitive courtier, each formed particular conjectures upon theſe circumſtances, as alſo that, with the names of the King and Queen they heard thoſe of the Duke and Ducheſs of Florence, and Mantua, Virgil Urſin, Don John, Bellegrade, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catharine, Selvage, and the Marchioneſs of Verneuil; other perſons, they ſaid, were hinted at, under the covert name of the tawny complexioned. They endeavoured to diſcover ſomething by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often buſineſs with her, and who publicly paid her the ſame reſpect as a ſervant to his miſtreſs, and often addreſſed her by that title, had been ſeveral times ſent by the Queen to bring her; and that ſhe paſſed many whole afternoons ſhut up with her Majeſty in her cloſet, when ſhe was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

But that which afforded moſt matter for diſcourſe was, that, at the time when theſe diſputes ran higheſt, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me, that the King waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately cauſed to be built at Blois, over thoſe that

extend the whole length of the lower garden, it is that in which there is the odd repreſentation of a hind with a ſtag's horns. It was obſerved, that his Majeſty ordered two Swiſs, who underſtood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet cloſed up, and that during two hours and more which we continued together, we ſeemed to talk with great earneſtneſs and action. They might notwithſtanding the diſtance, hear ſome of our words, from which they could draw no lights; but it was not the ſame with thoſe which his Majeſty ſpoke, when he went out; theſe they underſtood, and carefully remembered. "No more need be ſaid of it; I will regulate my whole conduct by your advice, ſaid "the King, that I may be no longer reproached "with obſtinately following my own will; but remember, that we may probably both repent it "one day; for you cannot but be affected with "any misfortunes that happen to me. I know the "diſpoſition of thoſe perſons who foment our differences, they will be the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to the ſtate. Gentleneſs and indulgence are "laudable qualities, I confeſs; but you cannot "deny alſo, that their extremes are dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewiſe to diſtinguiſh the letter part of my reply to the King. "It was "indeed a part of prudence, I told him, to foreſee "and to prevent bad accidents, but it was equally "neceſſary to avoid haſtening them by uſeleſs precautions." On this they founded their ſuſpicion, that the King had a deſign to proceed to ſome violent meaſures againſt certain perſons of the Queen's *houſhold, and who were moſt in her confidence. I can ſay no more on this ſubject.

From

* This is ſpeaking very plainly; and as the other memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can ſcarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a reſolution to clear the court of theſe informers, who

From Blois the King came to Poitiers; he afterwards ſhewed himſelf in the Limoſin and Guyenne: his preſence produced every where ſo good an effect, that he found no oppoſition to his will, not even to the eſtabliſhment of the duty of 5 *per cent.* tax*: he might have afterwards continued this tax, and the levying it would have met with no difficulty; but, ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a ſmall ſubſidy, and afterwards to ſuppreſs it entirely. The edict of revocation expreſſed, that his Majeſty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his ſubjects. Henry, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his journey†, returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was ſoon followed by Marechal Biron.

The conſternation into which his party was thrown by the King's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not ſo far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a reſolution to go to court, which ſeveral other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon ſuch a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate ſupply of what troops and money he wanted. Too glaring an oppoſition

who exaſperated the Queen's mind againſt him, but likewiſe to make this princeſs ſenſible of her indiſcretion, by forbearing to ſee her, and obliging her to live at a diſtance from him, in one of her palaces, and perhaps by ſending her back to Florence. We may ſee, in the hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. 1. p. 9. that this Prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Roſny thought this laſt courſe rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumſtances conſidered.

* La-Septennaire ſays, that M. de Roſny was ſent for this purpoſe by his Majeſty to Rochelle; and that he was commiſſioned by the Rochellers to make remonſtrances to the King, for ſuppreſſing the ſchedule or rates of tariff of this duty.

† During this proteſs to Poitiers, ſays La-Septennaire, which laſted near two months, the court ſeemed melancholy, the King penſive; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois: all which was owing to the public and private diſquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

to

to the King's will might raiſe ſuſpicions of his treaſonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had eſcaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the Baron de Lux, his friend and confident, repreſented to him, that the King, upon his repeated refuſals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal ſtroke to the Marechal, who was neither in a condition to defend himſelf, nor to retire into any of his fortreſſes, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

This is a precaution which I had taken, in making preparations for this ſtroke upon Biron ſome months before. I repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places of Burgundy ſhould be caſt over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myſelf to all the duties of my employment, as maſter of the ordnance, was alone ſufficient to have made this propoſal paſs unſuſpected But, that I might not give the leaſt umbrage by it to the Marechal, I was the firſt to offer him to ſupply the deficiencies, by furniſhing him with plenty of every thing that was neceſſary from the arſenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I conſented that Biron ſhould diſpatch ſome of his ſoldiers to Lyons, to eſcort the boats that were to be loaded with pieces of cannon I was to ſend him, and that he ſhould receive them before he ſent away thoſe he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken ſuch meaſures every where, that the boats from Lyons, which went up the Saone very ſlowly, were ſtopped by the way, till thoſe that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his juriſdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats from Lyons proceeded no farther.

Biron did not perceive the artifice I had made uſe of till it was out of his power to prevent it.

He

He discovered so violent a rage against me, and boasted so publicly he would poignard me, that the King wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewise, as if without design, posted the light horse upon the passage of the Loin. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes De-Lux and he drew no other inference from the impossibility they were now under of defending themselves, but that it was necessary they should deceive the King, till, by foreign assistance, they had provided for their security. Descures and Jeannin acted in such a manner with them, as to increase this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the strongest assurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewise that he had sought for an interview with the King with no other view than to sound him, and that he had found him very far from guessing the truth: This he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he passed him, he said these words; "Courage, Master, speak "boldly." The council had likewise so earnestly kept the secret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was designed against Biron; and D'Epernon hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, sent him such offers of service as are usual amongst persons of high rank †; in which, after what had passed

* The Marechal de Biron imagined that he had seen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La Fin deceived him, by burning, instead of it, a piece of waste-paper.

† The Duke d'Epernon did not deny, that upon this occasion he had performed all the offices of a friend to Marechal de Biron: "When he conversed with him upon this affair," says the historian of his life, "he did not do it in ambiguous terms, as others did, but "with great openness and sincerity. He acquainted him with La-"Fin's treachery, and shewed him all the proofs of it, and exhorted "him to throw himself upon the King's mercy. This clears the "Duke d'Epernon. Du Plessis Bauconniere, a gentleman of honour, "and very much attached to the Duke, who was the person sent to "meet the Marechal, was employed to use all sorts of arguments to "prevail

passed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has since confessed himself.

I had gone to Morat for an airing, when Biron arrived at court. The King sent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is "come; he affects great modesty and reserve: "haste hither speedily, that you may advise us "what is to be done. Adieu, my dear friend." I returned immediately, as fast as my horse could carry me, and found the King walking before the pavilion where I was lodged, with Praslin, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand; and continuing his walk, told me, that he had in vain endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to

"prevail with him to ask the King's pardon. And indeed this gen-"tleman, assured of his own and his patron's innocence, could never "be induced to retire into a foreign country, after that the King, "who was not ignorant of this step, had caused the Marechal de Bi-"ron to be arrested; in which he did the Duke d'Epernon a consi-"derable service. The Duke got afterwards from the same hand, a "second piece of advice, which proved very successful, and that was, "to confess freely to his Majesty all his proceedings with the Mare-"chal Biron, and with what views and intentions he had treated "with him." The same historian, in this account, throws in some hints, which discover the very bottom of the Duke d'Epernon's sentiments, and which at the same time serve to shew his character: "The Duke d'Epernon," says he, "and Biron, having gone toge-"ther to the Louvre to pay their compliments after dinner, his Ma-"jesty being told beforehand of their coming, placed himself at a win-"dow, to observe throw the glass, their motions and countenance. "A friend of the Duke d'Epernon, who was about the King, gave "him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accordingly. "But he acted quite contrary to what he was advised; and be-"ing more and more confirmed in the testimony he received from his "conscience of his innocence, and filled with a just and high indig-"nation to see his fidelity suspected, he walked on with an upright, "countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where he "knew the King leaned. This his Majesty took particular notice of, "and made those about him to do so too. The King afterwards made "a match at tennis, in which the Count de Soissons, with the King, "played against the Duke d'Epernon and the Marechal." It is at this match that the historians of that time make the Duke utter a good saying, telling the Marechal, "That he played well, but chose, "his side badly." Hist. de la vie de Duc d'Epernon, an. 1602. p. 205.

extort from Biron * a confeſſion of his crime, although he was ſo little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His Majeſty afterwards laid open to me his moſt ſecret ſentiments with regard to the Marechal: he ſtill felt for him all his former tenderneſs, and beheld him not with reſentment, but compaſſion: Ardently he wiſhed, that I would ſuggeſt to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a ſtate-criminal. But this was not eaſy to be done, conſidering Biron's known diſpoſition. If it was dangerous to ſuffer him to eſcape, when he ſhewed no ſigns of repentance, it was no leſs ſo to releaſe him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treaſon in his poſſeſſion.

The King once more reſumed a reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, which was, to endeavour to reſtore the Marechal to a right way of thinking. But, as his Majeſty had not been able to ſucceed in this attempt himſelf, he ordered me to undertake it, and promiſed me to avow all I ſhould ſay to Biron to engage his ſubmiſſion, provided that I gave him no

* The King, wearied out with his obſtinacy, ſuddenly left him, ſaying as he went away, "Well, I muſt learn the truth elſewhere; "Adieu, Baron de Biron." Theſe words were like lightening before a clap of thunder, that ſtruck him to the ground; the King thereby degrading him from thoſe many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The ſame day, after ſupper, the Count de Soiſſons alſo exhorted him, in the King's name, to own the truth to him; and concluded his remonſtrance with this ſentence of the wiſe man, "The anger of Kings is the forerunner of death." Pref. Ib. After dinner, ſays La Septennaire, he came to wait on the King, who was walking in his grand hall, where his Majeſty, ſhewing him his ſtatue in relievo triumphing over the vanquiſhed, ſays to him. "Well, cou-"ſin, if the King of Spain ha. ſeen me thus, what would he ſay?" To which he lightly made anſwer, "Sir, he would fear you but lit-"tle." All the Lord that were preſent took notice of this preſumtuous anſwer, and the King looking ſternly at him, Biron, who obſerved it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, your ſta-"tue, but not your perſon."

hint

hint of what La-Fin had ſaid, by which the deſign of arreſting him might be prevented, to which it would be neceſſary to have recourſe, if the Marechal perſiſted in his obſtinacy. "If he opens himſelf freely to you," ſaid the King, "upon the "confidence you muſt endeavour to inſpire him "with of my favourable intentions towards him, "aſſure him, that he may come to me without "fear, and confeſs all; and if he diſguiſes no part "of the truth, I promiſe you, upon my royal word, "I will pardon him chearfully."

I went to the caſtle to ſee the Marechal, who was in his Majeſty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at the head of the bed. I had a ſufficient number of attendants with me; and the Marechal, ſeeing that room was made for me, advanced to ſalute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin, by endeavouring to ſoften the reſentment I knew he entertained againſt me. "How is this, Sir!" ſaid I, embracing him, "you ſalute me with the gravity "of a ſenator, contrary to your uſual cuſtom: "you muſt not be thus reſerved; embrace me a "ſecond time, and let us talk freely." When we were ſeated, and out of the hearing of any perſon in the room, "Well, Sir," ſaid I, in an obliging tone, "What a ſtrange man are you! Have you "yet paid your reſpects to the King? How were "you received by him? What has he ſaid to you? "You know his diſpoſition is frank and open; he "likes others to be ſincere with him. I am told "you behaved in a very reſerved manner to him, "which was far from being ſeaſonable, nor did it "ſuit with either his temper or yours. I am your "kinſman, your friend, and your ſervant; take my "counſel, and you will find it will be uſeful to "you: tell me freely what you have upon your "heart, and depend upon it I will procure you ſa-"tisfaction; be not apprehenſive that I will de-"ceive you." To all this Biron contented himſelf

with replying, in a cold and indifferent manner, "I "have waited on the King with all the reverence "and respect that I owe him; I have answered all "his questions, which were only on general mat- "ters, nor had I any thing more to say to him." "Ah! Sir, (replied I,) it is not thus that you "ought to act with the King: you know the good- "ness of his heart, open yours to him, and declare "freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it "should be so, all your grievances, and I promise, "that, before night, you shall be satisfied with each "other. I have nothing more to say, either to the "King or to you, than what I have already said," returned the Marechal: "but if his Majesty en- "tertains any suspicion of me, or thinks I have gi- "ven him any cause of complaint against me, let "him or you acquaint me with the occasion of "these suspicions and disgusts, and I will give you "satisfaction." "The King," said I, in my eager- ness to save him, "is offended at your coldness; "for as to other particulars," added I immediate- ly, "he is quite ignorant: but let your conscience "be your judge, and act in the same manner as if "you knew we were informed of your most secret "actions, nay even your words and thoughts: for "I protest to you, upon my honour, this is the "most certain way to obtain whatever you can de- "sire from the King. The method I recommend "to you I always follow myself. If it ever hap- "pens that I commit any little fault, I acknowledge "and exaggerate it to the King, who then grants "me all I wish. If you will believe me, and take "my counsel, dear Marechal," pursued I, "you "and I shall govern the court, and be at the head "of affairs." "I am willing to believe you," re- plied Biron with the same coldness, "but I have "nothing to accuse myself of; I feel my conscience "perfectly at ease, since the confession I made the "King at Lyons." Although I had probably said

but

but too much already, yet I could not forbear making him several other motions and intreaties, which he received no better, and soon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

The King entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had said to Biron, and his answers. "You have gone rather too far, (said this prince "to me,) and have said enough to create some "suspicion in him, and even to indue him to fly. "Go into that gallery," added his Majesty, after reflecting some moments upon the blindness and obstinacy, with which the Marechal hurried on to his ruin "and wait for me there: I would talk to "my wife and you alone." Accordingly, he returned a short time afterwards with the Queen, and shutting the door of the gallery, he told us, that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the safety and happiness of the state, leaving him no other part to take, but that of arresting Marechal Biron and the Count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was, to consider how to do it securely *. His Majesty was of opinion, that we should wait till the Marechal and

* It would not have been done, if the Marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain person put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the King after supper, in the name of the Countess de Roussy his sister, and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no answer, he doubted something else was the matter, and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him, that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arrested, and directly shewed it to one of his friends called *De-Carbonnieres*, who said to him, Then, adieu, Sir, I wish I had a poignard in my breast, provided you were now safe in Burgundy. To this he made answer, Suppose I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the King's orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithstanding this, he went into the King's chamber, where he played at primero with the Queen; and, in the midst of his game the Sieur de Merge, a gentleman of Burgundy, was observed to whisper somewhat in his ear, which the Marechal not regarding, the Count d'Auvergne came also and twice touched him on the side, telling him, "It is not safe "for us to be here." Sept. Ibid.

the

the Count were retired each to his reſpective lodging, and that then ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to inveſt them. I propoſed, that they ſhould be in the King's cloſet till the night was far advanced, and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his Majeſty's retiring, ſhould be withdrawn, they ſhould then be ſeized, as they went out of the King's apartment. "I do not ſee "how this can be done, (replied Henry,) without "having my chamber and cloſet filled with blood; "for they will not fail to draw their ſwords to de-"fend themſelves; and if this ſhould happen, I "had rather it were in their apartment than "mine." I thought it of moſt conſequence, upon this occaſion, to avoid as much as poſſible, all noiſe and confuſion; but the King continuing firm in his firſt propoſal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to ſupper; "and at nine o' clock, "(ſaid he,) let your horſes be prepared, and you "and all your people be booted, ready to mount "and ſet out when I ſend for you."

I withdrew to my pavilion; where, after giving orders conformable to thoſe I had received from his Majeſty, I went into my cloſet, from whence I could ſee all that paſſed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavilion oppoſite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglecting to obſerve what was doing on that ſide where I expected ſoon to ſee the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the King. The clock ſtruck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done. At length midnight came, yet all was quiet. I am afraid, ſaid I, returning into my chamber, where all my domeſtics waited for the ſcene that was preparing, ſome at play, ſome in converſation, and others aſleep; I am afraid, ſaid I, that they have not taken their meaſures right, and have ſuffered the birds, which with ſo little difficulty they might have taken, to eſcape, and which will not be eaſily intrapped

intrapped again. I then ordered them to saddle my horses, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my closet, and wrote a few words.

I continued there half an hour, after which I heard a noise at the door of my pavilion next the garden, and a voice that cried, "Monsieur, the "King sends for you." I looked out at the window, and knew the messenger to be La-Varenne, who went on saying, "Sir, come immediately, "the King wants to speak with you, and to send "you to Paris, to give the necessary orders "there; for Mess. de Biron and d'Auvergne are "made prisoners." "And where were they ta-"ken?" (said I *.) "In the King's closet," he replied. "God be praised, (said I,) that the "King has followed that advice." I ran directly to his Majesty's apartment. "Our men are seized, "(said he to me:) mount your horse, and go and "prepare their lodgings in the Bastile: I shall "send them in a boat to the gate of the arsenal "next the river: make them land there, that they "may not be seen, and carry them, without any "noise, through the midst of your courts and "gardens. When you have made proper disposi-"tions in the arsenal for their reception, if you "can, before they arrive, which they will do soon

* Vitry arrested the Marechal de Biron as he came out of the King's antichamber. "Sir, (says he to him) the King has com-"manded me to give him an account of your person: deliver me "your sword. "You, but jest," replies Biron to him. "Sir, (rejoins Vitry,) the King has so commanded me." "Pray, "(says the Marechal again,) let me speak to the King." "No, Sir, "(returns Vitry,) the King is retired to rest." Praslin waited at the same time for the Count D'Auvergne at the gate of the castle, to whom, as he came out, he said, "You are the King's prisoner." "What I, I! (returned the Count d'Auvergne, much surprised.) "Yes, you, Sir, (says Praslin to him,) I arrest you in the King's "name, deliver me your sword." "Here, take it, (replies the "Count,) it has never killed any but wild boars; if you had ac-"quainted me sooner of this, I would have been in bed and asleep "two hours ago."

"after

" after you, go to the parliament and the town-
" houſe, and declare there what has happened:
" tell them, that, at my arrival, they ſhall know
" the reaſons for this proceeding, which they will
" find to be juſt." All theſe orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment that the priſoners landed at the arſenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine, who bore the title of *Mademoiſelle de Sully*.

I gave the care of the priſoners to the ſoldiers of the King's guards joined to my own, and poſted them in ſuch a manner, that they might be ſaid to be guards upon each other. I likewiſe placed a guard upon the baſtion, oppoſite to the windows in the priſoners apartment, and another upon the terrace of the tower: ſo that, as I wrote to the King, it was impoſſible they ſhould eſcape, unleſs by the interpoſition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his Majeſty, obliged me to take all theſe precautions. A few days after the detention of the priſoners, the King wrote to me, that he was informed, there was a ſcheme laid to procure their eſcape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I ſhould anſwer for them. I conſented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my ſoldiers, who, to make an eſcape practicable, muſt have been corrupted every one. Another time the King ſent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and D'Auvergne was alſo againſt my perſon: a boat full of ſoldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the ſteps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river; that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the ſame by the ſecond, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, freſh horſes being in readineſs for them at the end of every ten leagues; and that, when in poſſeſſion of my perſon, they were to deal with me, by way of repriſal,

as Biron ſhould be dealt with. This laſt information, although ſo circumſtantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the reſt. I thanked his Majeſty, however, for giving it me. He had the goodneſs to command me to be ſtrictly attentive to my own ſafety, aſſuring me, that if the deſign which was laid againſt me ſhould ſucceed, he would not heſitate a moment to purchaſe me at the price of freeing the priſoners, and, if there were occaſion, by a ſtill greater conceſſion. To ſatisfy him, I placed a ſmall guard likewiſe at this gate.

The Firſt Preſident, the Preſident de Blancmeſnil, and the two counſellors De-Fleury and De-Thurin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the priſoners, whom, for this purpoſe, I ordered to be carried into a ſmall pavilion, in the midſt of the great walk of the arſenal: as it was neceſſary likewiſe, that they ſhould be examined in full parliament, I cauſed a covered boat to be prepared for them, in which they were carried thither, and brought back again without being ſeen. The hiſtory of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one; and that Marechal Biron, ſeeing Miron, the lieutenant-civil, at the foot of the ſcaffold *, gave him a caution againſt La Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, intreating him to bear his reſpects to Mademoiſelle de Rumigny, which, he ſaid, was all the preſent he had to make her, and many circumſtances of the like nature. The ſudden ſallies of rage, the terrors and weakneſſes which this man †, who, amidſt the greateſt dangers of war, had

* The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the hiſtorians, and in many other writings.

† Theſe inward agitations had almoſt deprived him of his ſenſes, and gave great trouble to the ſpectators, and eſpecially to the executioner, who durſt not let him ſee his ſword, and who yet took his opportunity ſo well, by amuſing the Marechal, that he made his

had acquired the character of intrepid, ſhewed at his execution, have furniſhed matter for much diſcourſe, and doubtleſs will not be forgot by hiſtorians. As for me, I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, ſome circumſtances that regard me perſonally.

While preparations were making for trying the two ſtate priſoners, they often deſired to ſpeak with me *. Two conſiderations hindered me from giving

head fly off at one blow, which he gave ſo dexterouſly that it was ſcarcely ſeen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that Marechal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition as the ſon for ignorance: he could ſcarcely read. The following account of him from the Chronologie Septennaire, will ſerve to finiſh his character. The author, after obſerving that he had almoſt all the qualities neceſſary to make a great warrior, namely, that he was brave, ſucceſsful, indefatigable, ſober, and temperate adds, "He "was particularly fond of ſplendor, proud and oſtentacious, and "even has been often known to deſpiſe the pleaſures of the table, "and live abſtemiouſly, that he might gratify his fantaſtic paſſion "for glory; he was daring in battle, and immeaſurably ambitious: "he was ſo preſumptuous as to believe that neither the King nor "France could do without him: he was alſo become ſo malevolent "and ſlanderous, that he ſpoke ill of all princes; he has been often "heard to ridicule the maſs, and make a jeſt of the pretended Re-"formed: there are numberleſs inſtances given of his having but "little religion; he relied very much on the predictions of aſtrolo-"gers and divines. The author, after this, gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to conſult, under a borrowed name, the old aſtrologer La Broſſe, the ſame of whom M. de Sully ſpeaks ſo often in his memoirs. "This good man, "(ſays he) who was then in a little tower or garret that ſerved him "for a ſtudy, ſaid to him, Well my ſon, I ſee the perſon for "whom this horoſcope is caſt will arrive at great honours through "his diligence and military bravery, and might come to be a king, "but there is a *caput algol* that keeps him from it." "And what "is the meaning of that? (ſays the Baron de Biron) "Don't aſk "me the meaning of it, (returns La-Broſſe.) "No, (ſays the Ba-"ron) but I muſt know." After many altercations between them, La-Bouſſe at length ſaid, "The meaning is this, my friend, he "will do ſo much that his head ſhall be cut off." Upon this, the "Baron fell upon him and beat him cruelly, and afterwards, leaving "him half dead, came down from the garret, taking the key of the "door with him." This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of ſenſe would have ſhewn any regard.

* He requeſted the Sieur de Baranton, M. de Praſlin's lieutenant,

to

giving them this satisfaction; first, because it would be to no purpose to hear the prayers and solicitations of Biron, whose death was too necessary for the good of the state, and too firmly resolved by the King, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon; and, secondly, having been comprehended myself in La Fin's depositions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant persons room to suspect that I had used any endeavours with the prisoners to keep them silent with regard to me, or that I had any occasion to speak to them. It was my design, on the other hand, that, if any supposed me to have had the least connection with Biron, they should think, that, by thus refusing to see him, I should make him resolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that supposition, he must, for many reasons, regard as a traitor. He reverenced my innocence; and if he spoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praise the counsels I had given him, and to condemn himself for not following them.

to wait on M. de Rosny from him, and tell him that he desired to see him; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earnestly begged of him to intercede with the King for his life, a piece of service which he expected from him, as he always had a great esteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and such a friend that, had he been persuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were persons more guilty than himself, but that he was the most unfortunate of them all: that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earnest entreaties which the Sieur de Baranton made in his name, so greatly affected M. de Rosny and his lady, the Sieur Zamet, and others who were present, that they were unable to speak for some time, and sat listening in tears. At length M. de Rosny broke silence and said "I cannot see him nor intercede for him, it "is now too late; had he been persuaded by me, he had not been in "this melancholy situation, for he ought to have owned the truth "to his Majesty from the time of his arrival at Fontainebleau; "and since he did not so, he has taken from the King the means of "giving him his life, and from all his friends that of interceding "for him." Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the historian Matthieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 482. to 534. where an account given of what relates to the Duke de Sully is conformable to that in our memoirs.

Deffunctis, grand Provoſt of the Iſle de France, took down in writing all the converſation in which Marechal Biron had mentioned my name, and gave the manuſcript to me ſome time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confeſſion to the Sieurs Garnier and Maignan doctors of the Sorbonne, aſked if there was no perſon there belonging to Monſieur de Roſny; and being told, that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him, and ſaid, "Monſieur Arnaud, I deſire you will carry "my laſt farewell to Monſieur de Roſny; and tell "him, that to-day, he loſes one of his beſt friends, "and the moſt affectionate kinſman and ſervant "he ever had: I have always highly eſteemed his "merit, and valued his friendſhip. Alas!" ſaid he, after raiſing his voice, and ſhedding ſome tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, "had I believed him, I ſhould have "avoided this fate. Tell him, I beſeech you, that "I recommend my brothers to him, particularly "my brother Saint Blancard, who is his nephew, "and that I intreat he will give my youngeſt bro-"ther ſome poſt about the Dauphin; and that he "would tell them, that, although I have failed in "my duty and obedience, yet that they ought "faithfully to perform theirs, and continue always "firm in their attachment to the King: but that "he would not let them come immediately to "court, leſt they ſhould ſuffer any reproaches on "my account." Another time Biron talking of me, ſaid, "The King has, in Monſieur de Roſny, "a faithful ſervant, and a wiſe and prudent coun-"ſellor: his Majeſty has done well to make uſe of "him: for while he continues to direct his coun-"cils, France will be happy, and I might have "been ſo likewiſe, had I governed myſelf by his "advice." On any other occaſion, I ſhould have avoided inſerting in theſe memoirs, ſuch diſcourſes

in

in my own praiſe; but in this caſe I did not think myſelf at liberty to make the leaſt alteration in the Marechal's words. I was ignorant of his having given theſe public teſtimonies of his eſteem for me, when I joined with the reſt of his relations * in imploring a favour for him: a ſlight one indeed, it was only to change the place deſtined for his execution. Accordingly, inſtead of the Gréve, which was named in the ſentence that was paſſed upon him, his Majeſty permitted the Marechal to be beheaded in the court of the Baſtile.

All the ſchemes of the cabal were diſconcerted by the death of Biron. Lavardin, who had been ſent at the ſame time by his Majeſty in Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took poſſeſſion of all the places there which had been held by that Marechal, without ſtriking a blow, and ſent Senecé to inform the King that this province had ſubmitted. The government of it given to the Dauphin, to whom M. le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings againſt the conſpirators ſtopped here; and, except Fontenelles †, whom Henry thought it

* Meſſieurs de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the Count de Rouſſy, de Chateauneuf de Themines, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went, three days after the arreſt of Marechal de Biron, to throw themſelves at the feet of his Majeſty, who was then at St. Maur des Foſſés; but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author ſpeaks of here. Henry comforted them, by reminding them of the example of the Conſtable de St. Paul, allied to the houſe of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a ſimilar crime, and the Prince of Condé, who would have undergone the ſame fate, had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129. where likewiſe may be ſeen a collection of papers and records relating to the Marechal de Biron's proceſs.

† Guy Eder de Beamanoir, Baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Britany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the Fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a ſledge, and broke alive in the Gréve. "The King, (ſays M. "de Pereſixe,) in conſideration of his family, which was very illuſ-

"trious,

it neceſſary to puniſh for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the reſt. The number of the conſpirators was very great; and, upon examination, many of the moſt conſiderable courtiers * were deeply concerned in the plot. I confirmed as much as poſſible the King's inclinations to lenity. I forewarned thoſe whom I knew to to have had ſome ſhare in the confidence of Biron, and repreſented to them ſo plainly, that all they had now to do was to throw themſelves at the King's feet, and implore his pardon; that almoſt all purſued this method: The ſecrecy which I promiſed them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cauſe to repent of a ſtep, of which the King and myſelf only were witneſſes, they were ſoon convinced, that his Majeſty not only took care to ſhew he had no reſentment againſt them, but likewiſe appeared to hold them in higher eſteem than before.

Hérbert who was ſecretary to the party, and had been ſeveral times ſent into Milan, and throughout all Italy by Marechal Biron, was likewiſe arreſted. I was ordered to interrogate him in the preſence of the Count d'Auvergné, and to receive his depoſitions, the King having promiſed a pardon, upon condition that he ſincerely declared all he knew. The principal diſcovery he made, and that which gave the fulleſt conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonſo Cazal had been ſent by that court, at different times, with large ſums of money to Marechal Biron. To convince

" trious, granted to his relations, that, in the ſentence, he ſhould " not be called by his own name: but hiſtory could not conceal it." M. de Thou, l. 128. ſpeaks of him as of a fellow who had been employed in Britany by the league.

* According to Siri, there was ſomething more than mere ſuſpicions againſt the Conſtable de Montmorency, and even againſt the Duke of Montpenſier. Mem. recond. vol. 1. p. 103.

Hébert

Hébert that his Majesty had no design to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, signed by the King, into the hands of the Count d'Auvergne.

The Baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amnesty. His perplexity, when he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, had been very great, because he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to stay in the kingdom. He was still undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his Majesty with an order to attend him, promising the Baron his pardon, at the same time, if he would endeavour to deserve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, sensible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the messenger that he was ready to obey the King's orders, provided he would assure him that he should not be exposed to the shame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his accusers; that he should be continued in his post *, and permitted to retire from court after his confession; he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or insincere. There being no letter from his Majesty. De Lux appeared contented with a promise under my hand that he should receive no harm.

The King having granted all that the Baron de Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his Majesty as he was going a hunting, threw himself at his feet, and was beginning a long speech, when the King, who had not leisure to hear him then, stopped him short, by saying, "Go to Monsieur "de Rosny, and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which de Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was sent, raised such apprehensions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his escape. However, he came

* He was governor of the castle of Dijon, and the town of Baune.

to

to the arſenal, but under ſuch terrors, that inſtead of liſtening to any thing I ſaid to him, he was continually looking round him, and his apprehenſions were increaſed when he ſaw his Majeſty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arſenal, the King having ſent them thither, becauſe he intended to paſs by the arſenal in his return from the chaſe. De Lux now thought himſelf loſt. "Ah! "Sir, ſaid he to me, I came hither upon the "King's word and yours; do you intend to de- "tain me?" Why do you aſk me this queſtion, "Sir, ſaid I? The guards, ſaid he which I per- "ceive entering in files, perſuaded me that it is "not the King who is coming, but that they are "probably ſent for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to ſpeak to the King before he was confined, promiſing, and I believe very ſincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have obſerved your uneaſi- "neſs, (replied I,) but be not afraid, I have no "orders to arreſt you; ſpeak freely to the King; "ſwear to be faithful to him, and keep your oath; "you will then have nothing to apprehend. Had the "Duke of Biron acted in that manner, he would "have been now alive." That moment a meſſenger informed me that the King was returned to the Louvre, and deſired to ſpeak with me. The evening was ſo far advanced before the chace was ended, that, inſtead of coming to the arſenal as he had propoſed, he went directly to the palace. This meſſage relieved the Baron de Lux from his terrors.

The next day he had a conference with his Majeſty, which laſted above four hours. He gave no cauſe for accuſing him of indiſcretion in concealing his accomplices, but named ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, that Henry, glad to find in ſuch general accuſations a pretence for believing none, and for making himſelf eaſy, treated all thoſe whom De-

Lux accuſed, and who were continually about him no leſs favourably than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with Marechal Biron's deſigns; but the hope of remaining unobſerved amongſt the croud, determined them not to own their connections with him, notwithſtanding all the advances and promiſes which I made them. This was not the caſe with the High Conſtable. He had kept up a ſort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided. But, as I was perſuaded that it was merely perſonal, aud extended no farther, I thought myſelf obliged to juſtify him to his Majeſty, on whom his aſſurances of fidelity made ſo little impreſſion, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of ſuſpicion. I may ſay with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards reſtoring him to the King's favour; and this prince had no reaſon to repent of his clemency, either to him or any of the others *, except only the Count of Auvergne, whoſe ſtory it is now time to reſume.

The nature of that crime which he, as well as the Duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs againſt them, made it highly probably that their puniſhment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the King not only gave him his life, which he cauſed to be intimated to him by the Conſtable, but alſo ſoftened, as much as poſſible, the inconvenience of his

* It is not certain that Henry IV. never had reaſon to repent of this indulgence. As to the aſſaſſination of this prince, there remains a great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult; but by ſuppoſing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conſpiracy here mentioned, we may ſtill believe that this cataſtrophe had not happened, if the conſpirators had been proſecuted with more ſeverity. In this caſe it muſt be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Roſny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the Prince became the victim. What the author ſays four lines higher of thoſe who boldly concealed themſelves among the croud, ſufficiently ſhews, that the ſpirit of revolt was not extinguiſhed by the death of its head.

impriſonment. He permitted him to agree with the Lieutenant of the Baſtile for his table, diſcharged him of the expence of the officers and ſoldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my repreſentations that a greater number were uſeleſs. At firſt, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terraſſes, but afterwards he was indulged in all his deſires; and at length wholly * diſcharged from his confinement. He had been ſo little accuſtomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the King had granted him his life, he ſaid, it ſignified nothing, unleſs he gave him his liberty likewiſe.

Thoſe who praiſe alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to juſtify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the ſervices his Majeſty might expect from the Count of Auvergne, in diſcovering to him the plots of the Spaniſh party againſt France, made it neceſſary to pardon him for his own intereſt. For my own part, I am too candid not to confeſs, that on this occaſion the King gave no proof of his clemency, but of his paſſion for the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, ſiſter to the Count of Auvergne; which was the ſole cauſe of the indulgence he ſhewed to the Count. However, I concealed my thoughts with great care, and, in the courſe of two years, never mentioned a word to the King upon the ſubject, being perſuaded, that all the arguments I could uſe at the time, would have no force againſt the prayers and tears of a miſtreſs; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpoſe to ſhew him his error. It was not till after the Count of Auvergne had, by

* In the beginning of October. "It was not, ſays Le-Septenaire, without having firſt made an open confeſſion to Meſſieurs the Chancellor, de Sillery, and Roſny."

new

new instances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed against him as a criminal, that I just hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the King himself.

One day, when the King and I were alone, the conversation turned upon this subject; and Henry, after viewing me silently for some time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly surprised at my not asking him his reasons for saving the Count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myself, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the most probable, but that I never chose to explain myself to his Majesty for fear of offending him. Henry answered immediately, with his usual vivacity, that he could easily guess, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had shewn the prisoner, regarded the Marchioness of Verneuil; and assured me, that that alone had been but sufficient to have commuted his punishment into a perpetual imprisonment; but that he was absolutely ignorant of the second, to which I supposed his deliverance had been owing, and pressed me repeatedly to tell him what it was. I owned to him, that it had been always my opinion, that his Majesty would not inflict a shameful death upon a man who would be always considered as the uncle of his children, in case he should have any by the Marchioness of Veneuil Henry swore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections so far, although that consideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he insisted upon my guessing, in my turn, the true reason that induced him to set Auvergne at liberty. He again repeated to me, that the solicitations of his mistress, the intreaties of the constable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themselves at his feet, had not had so great a share in that resolution as I imagined,

they having contented themſelves with aſking only the life of the priſoner. And at length, after all this heſitation, he declared to me, that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promiſes he made him, and the air of ſincerity with which they were accompanied. He then related to me all that paſſed between himſelf and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the Count, after many aſſurances of a ſincere repentance, and proteſtations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promiſed him, with the moſt ſacred oaths, if he would reſtore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the moſt ſecret reſolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accompliſh which, he had only to reſume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them believe as truth, what on his ſide would be only fiction. But that this diſſimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the puniſhment of a traitor, it was neceſſary that his Majeſty ſhould not reveal to any of his miniſters what he then ſaid, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he ſhould receive from thence.

The King, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himſelf to believe the promiſes Auvergne made him, or ſuppoſe that he could fall ſo low, as to take up the trade of a ſpy, and become a double traitor; but that after the Count had aſſured him he really meant to perform all his engagements, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the performance of his promiſes, and make uſe of him to procure ſuch intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation, he had promiſed Auvergne ſecreſy, and the other conditions he had demanded.

My

My concluſion, from what the King told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the Count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his paſſion for his miſtreſs; this was the faſcination that cloſed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne; and after having prevailed upon him to ſpare his life, ſnatched from him likwiſe the grant of his liberty, and that upon ſo ſlight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word, but by ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced a ſecond time, he became once more a traitor to his prince.

It cannot be denied, that he was ingenious, ſubtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act. But, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous paſſions, he had in his heart ſuch a fund of malice and perfidiouſneſs, that it was eaſy to ſee he would reſume his former diſpoſitions; but he reſumed them with ſo much addreſs, that the King did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the moment he found himſelf ſecure. He often conferred with his Majeſty concerning the King of Spain, and related very bad things of him, the better to play his part; but all he ſaid might be reduced to matters of little conſequence; while to the court of Spain he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that paſſed in France. I ſhall reſume his ſtory in another place.

The Prince of Joinville, to whom Henry likewiſe extended his clemency, was a young man of a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimſical and more unſteady; he had engaged himſelf with bad company, among whom to be in the faſhion, and to appear a man of conſequence, it was neceſſary that he ſhould have correſpondences without the kingdom; this was ſufficient to ruin him entirely.

entirely. His Majesty being informed, that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the Count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the King of Spain, and one of his ministers, he ordered him to be arrested. As soon as he was in custody he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confession, provided that it was to the King in person, and that I should be present. I had left Paris in the evening, to visit my new acquisition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of some buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at present. I was just arrived, and preparing to sit down to supper, when I heard his Majesty's postilion blow his horn, and immediately suspected my stay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the King, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himself any further. Believing the business to be of the utmost importance, I set out so early the next morning, that I only saw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an unexperienced youth, who was drawn into errors by his rashness and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confessed all he was desired to do. The King, entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deserved; he sent for his mother, the Duchess of Guise, and the Duke, his brother, and taking them into his closet, "Here, said he, is "the prodigal son himself, I shall use him like a "child, and pardon him for your's and Monsieur "de Rosny's sake, who has interceded for him; "but I do it upon condition that you will all three "reprove him severely, and that you, nephew," added he, turning to the Duke of Guise, "will "answer for his conduct for the future: I give "him to your care, make him wise, if it be pos-"sible."

This change was not so easy to be effectuated on

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a youth paſſionate, intractable, and who had already taken a ſide. He was ſuffered to remain in priſon for ſome months, where at firſt he was obſtinately ſullen, then inſolent and furious, and at laſt, thro' mere wearineſs, promiſed to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The King conſented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the caſtle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleaſed with this place than his priſon, and repreſented to the King, that he could not reſide in a caſtle which was not furniſhed. Unfornately for him, the King knew this to be a falſehood. As he had himſelf often hunted near that caſtle and Chevreuſe, which is but at a ſmall diſtance from it, the keeper of thoſe two houſes had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the Ducheſs of Guiſe, that Dampierre was as well furniſhed as Chevreuſe. This behaviour of Joinville's ſo incenſed the King againſt him, that he reproached me for the too great intereſt I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myſelf leſs with them for the future. And now his Majeſty, inſtead of revoking his ſentence, declared that the priſoner ſhould be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promiſed to make a fuller confeſſion than than he had yet done; but being, as he ſaid, apprehenſive that his Majeſty was ſtill angry with him, he again intreated that I might be the perſon to whom he ſhould make his declaration.

The Duke of Bouillon had not been careful to return from his eſtates, as he had promiſed to the King; therefore, after Biron was arreſted, his Majeſty judged it neceſſary to write to him, to ſee if upon this occaſion he would not give ſome proof of his connection with the priſoner: he informed him, that Marechal Biron had been convicted of conſpiring againſt the ſtate; and that when he came to court,

court, he would ſhew him the proofs of his treaſon, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; ſatisfying himſelf with thus inſinuating that he expected the performance of his promiſe, without giving him a direct order to come. The Duke of Bouillon eaſily comprehended the deſign of this letter, and anſwered it no otherwiſe than by ſending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his Majeſty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had eſcaped. By this perſon he ſent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided ſaying any thing from which the leaſt advantage could be taken, either becauſe he had already learnt that his aſſociate was ſeized, or that his imagination ſuggeſted to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to aſſume. He told me, that never had any one's aſtoniſhment equalled his, when he learned that the ſtate and the King's perſon had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readineſs he ſhewed to go to every place where his duty and the King's ſervice called him, would, he hoped, convince his Majeſty, that he ſhould never have the like reaſon to be apprehenſive of him; and that he would expect the King's orders, and my good advice, that he might obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms ſuch as theſe: he could not, however, hinder himſelf from hinting ſomething in favour of the accuſed, but in a manner ſo general as could not hurt him. After expreſſing his wiſhes, that this event might not give his Majeſty any diſturbance, he added theſe words, "nor alter the "natural ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition."

The King, when I ſhewed him this letter, thought he might make uſe of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durſt not ſend him an abſolute command to come, leſt by a refuſal he ſhould lay him under the neceſſity of puniſhing him for his diſobedience by the force of arms, which he neither choſe nor could conveniently do. He therefore told me, that ſince

Bouillon asked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I should reply, that it was true, the King had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with the Duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to strengthen his resolution of coming to his Majesty, either to justify his innocence, or by confessing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I should assure him, that I would give him my word, or, if necessary, become his surety, that so far from having any thing to fear, he should be received by the King with open arms. Henry, knowing my delicacy on these occasions, prevented my scruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon should be treated in whatever manner I promised him; and not satisfied with this verbal assurance, he gave me a writing conceived in these terms: "I promise "to M. de Rosny, that if the Duke of Bouillon "comes to court upon his letters, and the promises "he shall make him, I will observe them all faithfully, or give the Duke free leave to retire wherever he pleases; and neither in his journey to or "from the court shall he receive any disturbance: "for all which I engage my faith and royal word "to the said Sieur de Rosny, Given at Paris, June "24. 1602."

I wrote to the Duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his Majesty entered into with me concerning him, pressed him in the strongest terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and settle for some time at court. This letter Bouillon received almost at the same time with the verbal answer the King sent him by his deputy, and took occasion, from his Majesty's not having himself pressed him to come, to tell me in answer, that the advice I gave him being inconsistent with the King's orders, he could not govern himself by it, whatever inclination he might have to do so; and that he

would content himſelf with ſending to court, as his Majeſty required, a perſon who ſhould give as ſatisfactory an account of his conduct as he himſelf could do, and ought to be equally depended on. This perſon was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the ſame time that I received Bouillon's anſwer to my letter, and whoſe expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, becauſe, in appearance, he came by his Majeſty's orders: but the Duke of Bouillon, inſtead of coming himſelf, removed ſtill farther from court, and went to Caſtres.

I am not ſurpriſed that my arguments had, on this occaſion, ſo little weight with him, ſince he regarded me as his enemy, and did not ſcruple to call me ſo in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himſelf in a letter, dated the 28th day of December this year. Nor was I more ſurpriſed at the manner in which the Duke of Bouillon acted with his Majeſty. As ſoon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the King had recourſe to diſſimulation with him, he ſuppoſed it eaſy enough to impoſe upon his Majeſty and his council without riſking any danger. For this purpoſe, all that was neceſſary was, to anſwer, in * appearance, always with great ſubmiſſion, without taking any of thoſe meaſures, which they durſt not formally preſcribe to him. This artifice ſucceeded ſo well, that he made uſe of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modeſt or reſpectful terms than the letter he wrote on this ſubject to Du-Maurier, and which, after his Majeſty had per-

* The Duke de Bouillon's letters to the King we find in the 3d tom. of Villeroi's Memoires d'Etat, p. 158. *& ſeq.* See likewiſe the reaſons which the hiſtorians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accuſation of having been concerned in Marechal de Biron's plot, his refuſing to come and wait upon the King, and his flight to Caſtres, *l.* 5. p. 222. *& ſeq.*

duſe

uſed it, was given to me to be communicated to the Chancellor, and the Duke d'Epernon, with whom, by the King's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The King ſtrongly intereſted himſelf in it, and had a conference with Conſtant and Saint-Aubin about the Duke of Bouillon, which laſted a whole afternoon; but it produced nothing.

The game which, upon this occaſion, was played by the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy was ſtill more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more eſpecially England and Scotland, whoſe ambaſſadors were ſtill at Paris, congratulated his Majeſty, upon his having ſo happily cruſhed this dangerous conſpiracy. Philip and Charles-Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the King upon this event: unleſs fear was their motive, it is not eaſy to gueſs what could oblige them to have recourſe to ſo groſs an artifice. Henry was more ſincere with them; he ſignified to them, that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the Count of Fuentes, as boldly, as if it had been poſſible to have perſuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permiſſion, to act in concert with Biron and the other conſpirators.

Some days after the execution of Marechal Biron, the King came to the arſenal, and I had a converſation with him, that well deſerves to be related: "You ſee," ſaid his Majeſty to me, after making ſome reflections, as uſual, upon the ingratitude of Meſſ. de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of the court whom he had pardoned, and whoſe names he mentioned, "you ſee that thoſe on whom I have "beſtowed the greateſt favours, are the ſame per- "ſons by whoſe ambition and caprice I have ſuf- "fered the moſt." He then obſerved to me, that theſe ſix men had, at different times, received larger

ſums from him than the five kings his predeceſſors, except Henry III. who had been accuſed of ſuch great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to ſilence thoſe who always unreaſonably enumerated the ſervices of theſe ſix gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him ſince they had entered into his ſervice; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but thoſe preſents that his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not ſuch poſſeſſions as they had acquired by his aſſiſtance, and enjoyed through his protection; ſuch, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having firſt procured, and then ſecured to him the poſſeſſion of it, as has been ſeen in circumſtances ſufficiently perplexing.

The King, whoſe ſole view in entering upon this ſubject, was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this diſcourſe, which might have ſome relation to the preſent ſtate of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a leſſon, being too well perſuaded of my fidelity, to think there was any occaſion for it; but that having ſeriouſly reflected upon the manner in which it was neceſſary he ſhould behave to me, that he might not expoſe himſelf to the mortification of ſeeing the confidence he had in me leſſened, he thought prudence required that he ſhould take two precautions, with reſpect to me, in the rewards my ſervices and family deſerved from him. "One of theſe precautions, ſaid the King, "has a reference to the world, the other to my- "ſelf: firſt, that theſe rewards ſhould neither ſuc- "ceed each other ſo rapidly, nor in themſelves be "ſo exceſſive, as to render you the object of pu- "blic hatred, always ready to break out againſt "firſt miniſters: and the ſecond, that theſe eſtates "and theſe honours ſhould be of ſuch a nature, as, "if it ſhould happen that through religion, or any

"other

" other motive, you ſhould be capable of violating " your duty, they may not put you into a condi- " tion of giving any umbrage to your benefactor " himſelf, or, after his death, of diſturbing the " tranquillity of his ſucceſſor, or of putting the " ſtate in danger: in one word," ſaid this Prince, after giving me to underſtand, that as he ſpoke without any diſguiſe, he would permit me to tell him my ſentiments freely likewiſe, " I want to avoid " having the leaſt occaſion of ſuſpicion againſt " you, that my friendſhip for you may continue " unalterable. I daily experience ſo many inſtances " of ingratitude, which I never expected, that, con- " trary to my inclinations, I am obliged to be diſ- " truſtful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will " put you in poſſeſſion of great cities, and ſtrong " fortreſſes, which, in the high credit, and great " abilities you poſſeſs, might make you independent " of me, and enable you, whenever you pleaſed, to " throw the kingdom into confuſion. I cannot do " more for you than ought to be done for a ſer- " vant, however faithful he may be, by a prince " who carefully ſtudies his honour, his reputation, " and the intereſt of his people."

Henry, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to my ſalaries and penſions, which were no more ſufficient to anſwer the expences of my table and houſe, an extraordinary gratuity of ſixty thouſand livres a-year; that by uniting this ſum to my own eſtate, I might purchaſe more lands, build upon them, furniſh and embelliſh my new houſes, and make an ample ſettlement for my children; telling me graciouſly, that he ſtill reſerved to himſelf to give me other proofs of his friendſhip and liberality: " And " this, purſued he, I ſhall do with the more wil- " lingneſs, as I am aſſured you will not ſquander

" theſe

" theſe ſums fooliſhly on entertainments, dogs, hor-
" ſes, birds, and miſtreſſes."

During this long diſcourſe of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me liſten to him in ſilence. The reflections it occaſioned left me ſtill more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he repoſed in me, than diſcontented with a caution which many others, in my ſituation, would have thought exceſſive. The King having commanded me to be very ſincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an abſolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his Majeſty, nor his ſucceſſors, nor the ſtate, ſhould ever have any cauſe for thoſe apprehenſions of me which his wiſdom had ſuggeſted, yet I myſelf did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himſelf up blindly to one perſon, whatever ſervices he may have received from him, ſince it is next to impoſſible that any one ſhould be able to anſwer for the wiſdom and juſtneſs of his counſels for the future. Therefore, inſtead of thinking myſelf injured, I found cauſe, in all his Majeſty had ſaid, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodneſs, ſince whatever bounds he ſhould preſcribe to his favours, they would always greatly exceed both my expectations and my ſervices.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant inſinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his Majeſty, had ſome ſhare in thoſe fears he expreſſed of me, I ſeized this opportunity to explain myſelf on an article, which, from this moment I foreſaw I ſhould be under a frequent neceſſity to return. I begged his Majeſty would permit me to repreſent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poiſonous reports of informers, without having firſt had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myſelf.

I assured him that he would find me sincere enough to confess my faults, which of itself deserved that he should treat me in this manner; and that he should be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at most amount to a failing, which I would not scruple to confess that instant, and for which I had some occasion for his indulgence; and this was, that through impatience of any obstacle or delay in any resolution that I judged necessary to be taken, some words of complaint or anger might escape me against the too easy disposition of his Majesty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be easily perceived in the words themselves, on which their calumny against me was founded.

What I then said to the King I now repeat to my readers, and that not from an affectation of modesty, by way of justification of myself, I am conscious I have no occasion for any, but because, however, irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have, nevertheless, been more than once obliged to clear myself to the Prince whom I served. If this confession does not hinder them from denying me that justice I have merited, it will not make them judge less favourably of Henry, if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived. In all times, there is nothing against which it is so difficult to defend one's self, as the secret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect then might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince, who could collect a thousand examples of treachery, disloyalty, and disobedience to himself, and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the sentiments which Henry entertained of me, we must not consider him in those moments when the remembrance of so many instances of ingratitude, awakened by the most artful impostures, opened his heart in spite of him to distrust

truſt and ſuſpicion; but when recovered from thoſe impreſſions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the ſincereſt proofs of his tenderneſs and eſteem. The world therefore may judge as it pleaſes of thoſe little intervals of favour which I have been obliged to ſuffer during the courſe of what will be called my glory and proſperity, and which probably any other might have ſuppreſſed, for the honour of having it ſaid, that he directed as he pleaſed the inclinations of his maſter; on this ſubject I ſhall uſe neither diſguiſe nor concealment; for truth is my guide, and inſtruction is my end.

The Duke of Luxembourg having had a cauſe brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the aſſurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The Duke complained of this extortion to the King, who ordered the parliament to iſſue out a decree, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and ſettled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be conſtrained to deliver up theſe, which they generally kept till their demands were ſatisfied. The neceſſity of putting a curb to the avarice of theſe people had always appeared ſo ſtrong, that the States had already given the ſame orders *, but to no purpoſe. The parliament granted the decree that was demanded of them, but the lawyers, inſtead of ſubmitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public regiſter the enſigns of their office, which produced a total ceſſation of law proceedings. There was almoſt a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and badauds †, a ſet of wretches with which the

* Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

† Such as are ſtyled cockneys at London.

town is crouded, who taking upon them to be wiſer than the King, the peers, and the ſtates of the kingdom, decided againſt them in favour of the advocates *, and found ſome abettors, even at court, who, with ſo much power and art exaggerated an evil, very inconſiderable in itſelf and eaſily remedied, that the King was ſtunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the conſequence.

While this affair was yet in agitation, his Majeſty being one day in his cloſet converſing with ſome of the courtiers, and relating the continual ſolicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not ſurpriſed at it," ſaid Sigogne, raiſing his voice, and aſſuming the air of one in a violent paſſion; "theſe men make it "plainly appear, that they know not how to em- "ploy their time, ſince they diſturb themſelves ſo "much about a trifle. To hear their exclama- "tions, one would think the ſtate, without theſe "bawlers would be ruined; as if the kingdom "under Charlemagne, and ſo many other great "kings, during whoſe reigns neither advocates nor "attorneys were heard of, was not in as flouriſh- "ing a condition as it is at preſent, when we are "devoured by theſe vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the eſtabliſhment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the regiſter of the chancery, of which the firſt paper is intitled "A permiſſion to plead cauſes by an advocate;" and perceiving that he was liſtened to with pleaſure, he added, that this ſcience was eſtabliſhed to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the deſtruction

‡ Matthieu, in relating this incident, tom. II. l. 3. p. 478. ſeems in like manner, to take the part of the advocates; and yet, for all this, every good man muſt be of the Duke of Sully's opinion, In the ſequel of theſe memoirs, he propoſes the means of conſiderably diminiſhing the number of proceſſes: and it is for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly uſed for buſineſs, to remedy the abuſes of which he complains.

of trade and agriculture. "There is not," said he, "any artist, or even any simple labourer, that "is not of more use to the community, than this "swarm of men, who enrich themselves by our "follies, and the artifices they have invented to "stifle truth, throw down all right, and darken "reason. If we are so blind," continued he, with a vivacity truly diverting, "that we will not, and "so unhappy that we cannot, do without them; "nothing remains to be done, but to command "them to resume the exercise of their employ-"ment within eight days at farthest, upon the con-"ditions prescribed by the court, upon pain of be-"ing obliged to return to the shop or the plough "which they have quitted, or else to serve the state "in Flanders, with a musket upon their shoulders. "I'll answer for it, if this method be taken with "them, we shall soon see them run with eagerness "to resume these magnificent ensigns, like vermin "towards a heap of wheat."

There was not one in the company who could forbear smiling at this lively sally of Sigogne's, and the King was among the first, and confessed that his arguments were very convincing. But whether it was, that he suffered himself to be overcome by the solicitations * that were made him, or alarmed by the fears of the consequences that might attend his joining this new disorder to those troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated; or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reserved to himself

* The medium made use of by the King's people, who underhand favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the King should send new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to resume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the decrees of parliament, and the ordinances of the states. But as these letters did at the same time allow them to make such remonstrances as they should think reasonable, with regard to the exercise of their several employments; and as they were particularly assured, that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to submit thereto. De Thou, l. 128. Sept. an. 1602.

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the making one day such a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law should be comprehended in it, he consented that the arret should, for this time, continue without effect. And thus was this ludicrous business terminated; for reflections upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words: so the world was left to think, that it was I who made him speak them †.

This naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-suit commenced this year by the third estate of Dauphiné, against the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were settled and assized in this province. I, with thirteen other commissioners, chosen amongst persons of the highest distinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognisance of it; but it was six years before it could be decided: the animosity between the parties concerned was so great, that there was a necessity for sending a second time to take information upon the spot. I took a more speedy method to bring a man named *Jousseaume* to justice. He had been a receiver general in the revenue; and, becoming a bankrupt,

† Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of history which I shall set down here. Henry one time hunting on the side of Grosbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himself to Creteil, which is a league on the other side of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon day, and, as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he inquired of the landlady if she had any thing for him to eat, to which she answered, no, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry than asked her, for whom is this roast-meat I see at the fire? For some gentlemen, replies she, that are above, and whom I take to be solicitors. The King sent, in a civil manner, to ask them to let him have a piece of their roast meat, or to give him leave to sit at one end of their table upon paying for it, both which they refused him. Upon this, Henry sent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to seize these solicitors, and carry them away to Grosbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaisance to gentlemen another time. "This the said Sieur Vitry saw "punctually and speedily performed", says the author, "notwith-"standing all the arguments, entreaties, and remonstrances of the "lawyers."

had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I caused him to be seized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too severely punished. The King again shewed himself solicitous for the interest of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treasurers-general of Burgundy. Some draughts had been made on them for the charges of garrisons and works about fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad design. I advised his Majesty to send thither a commissary on whose probity he could depend. He did so; and he began by suspending those men from their employments, and himself performed the duties of treasurer. The money that was expended upon this occasion was raised out of the salaries of these receivers and treasurers; "That I," said Henry, "may not pay the penalty for their failure "in my service and their own duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin, I found a method less tedious and severe than punishments and confiscations, which was only to raise their value*, there being no reason why they should

* The crown, called écu d'or au soleil which was valued at sixty sols, tournois, was raised to sixty-five; that called écu pistolet, of fifty eight sols, to sixty two; and so of the other gold species. The silver franc of twenty sols, was raised one sol and four deniers, and the rest in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance passed, about the raising the value of money, and the re-establishing of reckoning by livres; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, after the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by livres. Matthieu very highly approves of both these regulations of the Duke of Sully's, tom. 2. l. 3. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, says, p. 351. 372. et seq. that whatever cogent reasons they might have for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itself, because the gold and silver species were afterwards raised as much in seven years as they had been during the space of seventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, because merchandise and provisions were proportionably enhanced

should be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would pass for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the same time, I settled, over all the kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres, instead

ced in their prices. The opinion of this last writer seems to me to be grounded on stronger reasons. The reckoning by crowns had been settled as favourable to those who had the revenues in silver, those who improved their money in the public funds and otherwise, and those who sold goods upon credit payable at a certain time. The ordonnance of 1577 secured the effects of a considerable number of the natives; and besides, if there had been any confusion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cause of it, but only the miserable condition to which the civil wars had reduced France. The Duke of Sully projected these two regulations here mentioned, to prevent these disorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign species, that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; secondly, the enhancement of the price of provisions; and, lastly, the exportation of the gold and silver coin to our neighbours. It was equally easy to have made him sensible, that his complaints, in all these respects, signified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already shewn, a little higher, in what sense it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings to which he has recourse, would be more proper to raise than lower it.

As to the raising of the price of provisions, the same augmentation could not but make way for it still more; and the reason for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by livres, will appear to every one very insufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of provisions follows as a necessary consequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and silver in Europe, since the discovery of America. In order to prevent it, we must have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whose mines furnish us with these metals, but also with all our neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A state that should be conducted by this principle, would, among the other states of Europe, make the same figure as the republic of Lacedæmon did with respect to the rest of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great consequence, is, that all the merchandise and provisions and generally whatever constitutes a part of commerce, should rise at the same time, and in the same proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced, without raising the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected. If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned to both, those people can no longer live and pay their taxes.

As to the exportation of coin out of the kingdom, which seems to have been the chief view of the Duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning, might in some measure, prevent it in annihilating or diminishing the profit of the dealers

ſtead of crowns, as had been till then the practice. By ſome this may be thought an uſeleſs refinement, ſince all the ways of reckoning muſt come to the ſame thing at laſt. I am, however, of opinion, experience

ers in bullion; and, probably this was the only reaſon that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and ſtill more as to commerce, did not allow him to ſee, that he deſtroyed a ſlight abuſe by one a great deal more conſiderable, nor ſuffer him to go up to the ſource of the evil: he would have perceived, that the advantage of commerce, and conſequently the greateſt quantity of gold and ſilver, will remain in that nation which ſhall have made all others depend moſt upon them, for riches, either natural or acquired, and that as long as the balance of trade ſhall be in favour of ſome one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and ſilver is neither reaſonable nor practicable. At preſent, when we begin to ſee a little more clearly into theſe matters, there is no one but agrees, that all theſe regulations, and this whole ſeries of reaſoning did not attain the end propoſed.

Though the exigency of circumſtances, which is almoſt endleſs, does not permit either the providing againſt, or the ſubjecting every thing to a ſingle rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce, there are two general and very ſimple maxims which may be accounted as invariable; and theſe are, to avoid, with the greateſt care imaginable, meddling with the coin, and endeavour continually to render the French as laborious, induſtrious, and frugal as poſſible.

The frequent variations in the coin, give mortal wounds both to domeſtic and foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the ſhutting up of private purſes, the embarraſſment and diſadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of eſtates: All this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the King, who appears to be the only one who gains by ſuch proceedings, to put the caſe impartially, always loſes conſiderably more thereby than he gains; beſides, that the inſolvency of his ſubjects is an evil which he always ſhares with them, and even feels much longer than they do: all his expences increaſe with the coin, ſo as not to be diminiſhed even when that falls.

The other principle has ſtill leſs need of proof. It ſeems, that nature has reſerved to France the ſovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her ſituation, and the goodneſs of her ſoil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourſe to her, for all thoſe things that ſupply the firſt and eſſential neceſſaries of life: ſhe has no more to do than to ſhare, at leaſt equally with them, in the commerce of all thoſe things, that ſerve only for mere conveniency, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the conſumption of the latter ſhould exceed the produce of the former, we ſhall complain unjuſtly of our condition; for, to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and ſilver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted to theſe foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect ceaſe, without

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perience having ſhewn me, that the cuſtom of talking always of crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raiſed all that was bought or ſold to more than its real value.

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removing the cauſe. But to ſet a Frenchman to commerce that is carried on by ſea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as poſſible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but ſuperfluities, and, on the other hand, to increaſe his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands. This is what we may truly call promoting the intereſt of trade.

Beſides Le Blanc and Matthieu, conſult on the ſubject of this note De Thou, l. 129. Le-Grain, l. 8. Perefixe, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the hiſtory of theſe regulations of the finances and commerce; for, in reality, the reaſoning of theſe writers on this whole matter are not very ſatisfactory. We might well ſay of them what the Duke of Sully ſaid of the parliament of Paris, "They "are maſters of arts of which none of them know any thing." Mem. pour l'hiſt. de France.

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will ſupply that part from the ſame memoirs, tom. 2. p. 275. *et ſeq.* Though this writer ſeems not even to underſtand the ſtate of the queſtion, and ſpeaks not very favourably of the King and his miniſters. "At that time," ſays he, ſpeaking of all the deliberations upon this ſubject in 1609, there "was brought upon the carpet, and propoſed to the council, a new "edict for the coin, which they wanted to lower and alter, that is, "to raiſe its value, and by the ſame means to ruin the people. E-"very one murmured at this propoſal: the King alone finding his "account in it, laughed at it, and at all the world, even at his own "miniſters, and their remonſtrances, as he did at the firſt Preſident "of the mint (William Le Clerc), who being diſconcerted in his "ſpeech, having been twice interrupted by his Majeſty's breaking in-"to a fit of laughter, which made him ſtop ſhort in the middle there-"of; and upon his Majeſty's obſerving it, he ſays to him. Go on, "Mr. Preſident, for I am not laughing at you, but at my couſin, the "Count of Soiſſons, who is near me, and tells me, that he ſmells a "ſhoulder of mutton. This ſecond ſtroke ſtruck him quite dumb. "Upon which, the King falling into a fit of laughter, went away and "left him. A native of Perigord, who was one of the principal per-"ſons that had communicated this project of the edict to the King, "preſſed much for its being put in execution. The King who very "well knew the iniquity of the edict, ſeeing himſelf continually teaſ-"ed by this rude contractor, at length aſked him what countryman "he was; to which he anſwered, I am a native of Perigord. *Ven-"treſaintgris*, replies the King, I always thought ſo; for in that "country they are all counterfeits of coins.—On Saturday, the 5th "of September, the court being met on the coin edict, rejected it "entirely; *Nec debemus, nec poſſumus*, we neither ought, nor can, con-

"cluded

The intereſt of commerce was ſtill more concerned in the news the King received from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, that thoſe who had been employed to ſeek for mines, had diſcovered a great number of * gold and ſilver ones. This report was ſpread at court, with ſo many appearances of probability, that every one repreſenting to himſelf the direction of this new labour as a ſource of immenſe riches, there was not one who did not uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monſieur le Grand obtained the office of ſuperintendent, and Beringhen that of comptroller-general. This gave occaſion for La-Regnardiere, a buffoon whoſe jeſts were equally ſatirical and agreeable, to ſay, " that they could not have made a fitter choice

" cluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to the mint " were called; among whom one of the reformed religion, called Bi- " zeul, ſpoke his ſentiments very freely, for which he was highly " commended; and the firſt preſident ſaid, *Non in parabolis iſte locu-* " *tus eſt nobis*, It muſt be obſerved, that as ſoon as the people belong- " ing to the mint had entered the chamber, the firſt preſident ſaid to " them, ſit down and be covered, and you ſhall ſpeak preſently. On " Tueſday the 8th, in the evening M. de Sully went to ſee the firſt " preſident, in order to prevail on him to perſuade the court to paſs " the edicts; but in this he found him inflexible: and as the preſi- " dent repreſented to him the injuſtice of it, M. de Sully anſwered, " the King ought not to look upon that as unjuſt which ſuits his affairs. "—On Tueſday the 15th of September, the King ſent his letters pa- " tent to the court, to prolong the parliament for eight days, during " which time they were ordered to ſit about the regiſtering of the e- " dicts, two of which were in a manner revoked; and as to the o- " thers, it was hoped they would fall of themſelves."

* La Septennaire mentions the places where theſe mines of all ſorts were diſcovered. " In the Pyrenees, mines of talc and copper, " together with ſome of gold and ſilver; in the mountains of Foix, " mines of jet and precious ſtones, and even carbuncles, though but " few; in the lands of Gevaudan, and in the Cevennes, mines of " lead and tin; in thoſe of Carcaſſan, mines of ſilver; in thoſe of " Auvergne, mines of iron; in the Lyonnois near the village of " Saint Martin, of gold and ſilver; in Normandy, ſilver and very " good tin; at Annonay in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La-Brie " and Picardy, mines of marcaſite of gold and ſilver. Some of theſe " mines, but eſpecially thoſe of gold and ſilver, are very difficult and " troubleſome to work, and at the ſame time of ſo little profit, that " M. de Thou had reaſon for diſſuading them from meddling with " them ever ſince that time." L. cxxix.

" of a man for the direction of the mines, than one " who was himself a composition of *mines* *." The improvement and working of silk, of which I shall have more occasion to speak in the following year, may be dated from this period, the edict for planting of mulberry-trees being now first published.

Among all these different edicts, none made so much noise as that against duels †. His Majesty went so far as to make death the punishment of those who disobeyed; in which, I confess, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and savage abuse, to fear the accusation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foresaw, that an excess of severity in the means, would be the principal obstacle to the execution. When it becomes necessary to declare the will of the sovereign to the subject, it is of the utmost importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be prohibited be of such a nature that the fear of death may prevent disobedience; for otherwise those extremities are, in my opinion, less efficacious than degradation or disgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be seriously considered, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly persons of quality, and even of the greatest distinction, who are guilty of it; for whom solicitations are so much

* Grimaces or antic gestures. The uncouth appearance which this jest makes in English, is at once a proof of Mr. Addison's observation, that " a pun can be no more engraven than it can be translated;" and that this kind of false wit passed current in other courts, as well as in that of Britain, in this period.

† This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treason, or *lese majesté*, was passed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very severe one. This is the edict which first gave the constables and marechals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament restricted, in the registering, to those rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes, as debts, assaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the course of these memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

the more ardent and successful, as the punishment with which they are threatened is great and infamous. It is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example and hope of which are sufficient to encourage disobedience to the law. It often happens, that those punishments are most regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be solicited.

Besides those embassies already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the King received a solemn deputation from the thirteen Swiss cantons: forty-two deputies of that people came to Paris to renew the alliance *, which had been the occasion of Marechal Biron's journey to those cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De-Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but, not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend this business constantly, I satisfied myself with getting exact information from Sillery of all that passed at their meetings. The only difficulty I started, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, besides the forty thousand crowns to which their usual pension was raised. I could have wished that they had deducted certain sums paid on their account, during the campaign in Savoy, and on some other occasions; as for the rest, these gentlemen have always thought good cheer, and deep drinking with them, the most essential parts of their reception. The King presented them with gold chains and medals; and the King likewise sent back, loaded with presents, the Pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment his Majesty in the name of his Holiness. He gave his consent to the alliance which the repulic of Venice made with the Grisons against Spain.

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, taking oaths, &c. which were observed on this occasion, in the Septennaire, anno 1620. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. iii. p. 471. &c.

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The great armaments and other warlike preparations which that crown was making for the following year, kept the crown of France in continual attention to their motions, and were the cauſe that Henry, who held it for an inconteſtable truth, that it was by the military power alone a ſtate could be rendered flouriſhing, not only rejected the propoſal I made him, to diſband part of his troops, particularly to leſſen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but alſo that he took a reſolution to make a new levy of ſix thouſand Swiſs; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more exactly mindful than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the Conſtable for having ſolicited with great earneſtneſs the payment of my company of Gendarmes. And at laſt he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the moſt conſiderable of all his Majeſty made this year, except that into the provinces.

Henry took his route through Verneuil * towards the latter end of the month of Auguſt, leaving his Queen in the ſame condition ſhe was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for ſhe lay in of Madame, her eldeſt daughter, in November. He recommended to me with great earneſtneſs to be aſſiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of this journey; as likewiſe to procure her every kind of diverſion that might alleviate her concern during the firſt days of his abſence He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the ſtate of her health, and the manner in which ſhe paſſed her time: and it may be truly ſaid, that he never omitted giving her every inſtance of reſpect and tenderneſs that might make her forget the uneaſineſs ſhe received from

* Verneuil near Senlis, a caſtle which he had given to his miſtreſs, Mademoiſelle d'Entragues, and from which ſhe took the title of *Marcheioneſs of Verneuil.*

his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the ſon he had by the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, which was among the number of thoſe things that gave the greateſt offence to the Queen. Henry was detained a little time at Moncieux by a fever, occaſioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to ſee his maſons at work. The remedy he uſed for it was, to go to the chace next day. As ſoon as I had written to him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the Queen was in ſuch a ſituation as he wiſhed, he ordered me to attend him in that city, with the Preſident Jeannin, for whom he reckoned he ſhould alſo have ſome commands.

It was from this place that his Majeſty was a witneſs of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh, without having any inclination to diſarm, whatever aſſurance might be given him by the King of Spain, till he had ſeen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they ſtill continued to be on the ſame footing as before. The ſiege of Oſtend was not ſo vigorouſly puſhed by the beſiegers, as it was ſuſtained by the beſieged. Prince Maurice of Naſſau, after continuing ſome time at Berg, uncertain of what he ſhould next undertake, went on the 19th of September, to inveſt Grave, and intrenched himſelf, not doubting but he ſhould receive ſome oppoſition in this enterpriſe. Accordingly, the Admiral of Arragon, in the abſence of the Archduke Albert, who was detained by ſickneſs at Bruſſels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the beſiegers, and to ſuccour the place; but he did not ſucceed: and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spaniſh companies mutinied, and, after ſeparating from the main body of his army, poſſeſſed themſelves of Hoeſtrate and Dele. He took ſuch wrong methods to engage them to return, that they came to a reſolution

ſolution to apply to the Prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and with theſe Spaniards reſtored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the teritories of the Archduke obliged him to treat with them, and to receive them on very ſtrange conditions *.

The council of Spain, through a deſire of carrying on the war, reſolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A ſquadron of twelve large gallies and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care manned with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſary proviſions, ſailed for this purpoſe out of the Spaniſh ports, to cruiſe in the channel. The command of this ſquadron was given to Frederick Spinola, couſin to the Marquis of that name, who conducted the ſiege of Oſtend. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould become maſter of the ſea, and complete the ruin of the Flemiſh. But this proved a vain hope. Of twelve veſſels, two of them periſhed ere he had quitted the the coaſts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch ſquadron, were almoſt all either taken or ſunk; the laſt that eſcaped, and in which Spinola himſelf was, happened to run a-ground within ſight of Calais, but ſo diſabled by the cannon, and in ſuch a ſhattered condition that the ſlaves who rowed it having mutinied and fled, the General found himſelf obliged to land alone, and with much difficulty, at Calais, from whence he went to Bruſſels, to complain to the Archduke of the ſea and the winds.

Spain made herſelf amends for theſe misfortunes by the acquiſition of the Marquiſate of Final, which was taken by the Count of Fuentés. There was not the leaſt ſhadow of a pretence for this uſurpa-

* See in the hiſtorians the particulars of all theſe expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

tion;

tion ; this little ſtate, which is on the coaſt of Genoa, being inconteſtably a fief of the empire. Nevertheleſs, when the Emperor, to preſerve, in appearance at leaſt, the right of the empire, offered to ſend commiſſioners to diſcuſs this affair upon the ſpot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the King of Spain *. He uſed the ſame violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewiſe of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port ; and had likewiſe the ſame views upon Embden, when he undertook to ſupport againſt the inhabitants the the lord † of this city, although he was avowedly a Proteſtant ; but in this he did not ſucceed ; the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty againſt both the one and the other, and joined themſelves to the States.

The Duke of Savoy ſucceeded no better in the attempt he ordered D'Albigny to make upon the city of Geneva. This expedition ended unfortunately for the aſſailants, although they had opened themſelves a paſſage into the city by ſcaling the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after ſtabbing the centinel, whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which ſerved them to get clear of the patrole ; in fine, till they had put to the ſword the firſt guard, which they thought would ſecure them the poſſeſſion of the city. But the citizens deriving new ſtrength and courage from the extremity they beheld themſelves in, charged them with ſo much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of thoſe Savoyards threw themſelves off the walls, to eſcape the rage of the enemies ; many others were taken, and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black deſign,

* The Marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a penſion during his life.

† He was called Count d'Ogny Friſe. See the origin of theſe troubles in Chron. Sept. *anno* 1595. and their concluſion, *anno* 1602.

which

which was followed by a peace between the Duke of Savoy and the republic of Geneva *.

The revolt of Battori from the Emperor continued the war in Hungary: the Duke of Nevers † went

* The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiss Cantons. Siri, ibid. p. 200.

† See now la Chronol. Septenn. relates an action, of which M. de Sully speaks with a kind of contempt. "The Duke of Nevers "thinking, by his own example, to recall the courage of those who "withdrew from danger, and to induce others to come on, went di-"rectly to the breach, trampling over the dead, the wounded, and e-"ven those that were flying; but he received there the shot of a large "arquebuse, that was fired amidst a great number of other arms, "from one of the angles of the said breach, that struck him just on "the left side, penetrating into the breast near the heart and lungs "but it was conducted so providentially, that, neither breaking, or "hurting any noble part, it gained him as much lasting honour, as "it shewed a great miracle in his preservation."

Let us likewise hear this writer concerning the death of the Duke de Mercœur: "Having an inclination, says he, to return to France, "in order to prepare for some greater expedition against the Turks, "he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave of the "Emperor; but while he was at Noremberg he was seized with a "pestilential spotted fever. No sooner was the host brought him, "than the moment he saw it, though in a languishing and weak "state of body, yet of a vigorous and sound mind, *having more "faith than life*, (the device of the Duke of Mercœur being *plus fidei "quam vitæ*), he threw himself out of bed, and falling prostrate up-"on the ground, adored his Saviour, uttering the most devout eja-"culations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, sayings, and sentiments of the Duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and a high eulogium on his character: "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of "Notre Dame at Paris, by Monsieur François de Sellez, coadjutor "bishop elect of Geneva. The Turks imagined that the affairs of "the Christians did not prosper excepting where this prince was." After the eulogium of his family, the historian passes to that of his virtues: "He was one of the most temperate men in the world as to "diet, so as only to eat when obliged through necessity, and he drank "almost nothing but water. He was no less abstemious in other "temporal enjoyments; humble in the possession of all those high "honours and great favours heaven had heaped upon him, and never "abusing any of them; he was equally accessible to rich and poor; "moderate in his recreations; he had a great contempt for idle as-"semblies; so that what time remained for amusement he employed "in reading useful books. He had an exact skill in practical mathe-"matics; he was also eloquent, and would gracefully deliver his "elegant sentiments, not only in French, but likewise in the Ger-"man,

went thither, in expectation of succeeding to the post and reputation of the Duke of Mercœur, but laying siege to Buda after Pest had been taken by the Christians, the Turks, who on their side had at length got possession of Alba Regalis, hastened thither with such numerous forces, that they forced them to raise the siege; and the Duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Baste, the imperial general, has been very much and very deservedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having seized Bistrith, Baste retook this place by a capitulation, which during his absence, was violated by some German soldiers. As soon as he was apprised of it at his return, he hanged up all those soldiers, and out of his own money satisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had suffered. The rebels were so greatly affected with the generosity of this action, that they all submitted to the Emperor, and demanded no other security than the General's word.

" man, Italian, and Spanish tongues, in which he was more than " moderately skilled; and yet he never employed his elocution but " to enforce things that were useful, prai'e-worthy and virtuous." The description which this writer afterwards gives, with regard to his performing the duties of religion, and those of his station, his piety, his prudence, and his other virtues, form altogether a picture which may serve for a model to the great of our times, if we except that an immoderate ambition and mistaken zeal for religion made him undertake a conspiracy against his sovereign. Matthieu, ibid. 456. speaks of him in the same manner.

BOOK XIV.

THE city of Metz had been, for ſome time, ſhaken with thoſe inteſtine diviſions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The Duke d'Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the whole country of Meſſin, had placed there as his lieutenant Sobole * and his brother, who made ſuch an ill uſe of their authority, that they were ſoon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was ſtrengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was ſuch a general outcry amongſt the citizens and country-people, againſt the lieutenants, that D'Epernon was obliged to go himſelf to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to reconcile them. Sobole complained, that the city refuſed to furniſh the troops with victuals; and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some diſputes had alſo riſen concerning a certain Provençal, priſoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and deſire of revenge, occaſioned ſeveral other matters leſs conſiderable; and theſe heats had already proceeded ſo far as to make a revolt be dreaded.

The Duke d'Epernon was ſoon convinced that the two Soboles † had not juſtice on their ſide, at leaſt, with regard to the firſt complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occaſion of

* Raymond de Comminges, Lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gaſcony.

† Sobole accuſed the city of Metz of holding intelligence with the Count of Mansfield, in order to ſurrender itſelf to the King of Spain. This accuſation appeared to be falſe. Vie du Duc d'Epernon, p. 217.

a quarrel, with no other view than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in case of a war or a siege, and this to make themselves masters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their posts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, in which he would have some difficulty to support himself, the two brothers being at the head of a party, strong enough to oppose the governor as well as the citizens.

Things were in this state, when the King received advice of what was doing at Metz. He sent me notice that he would come to the arsenal to confer with me, and desired that I would have a supper prepared for him and six other persons whom he should bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great store-houses of cannon, and small arms, near the Bastile, and, beginning as usual, to discourse about the situation of affairs within the kingdom, with respect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had just received from Metz. Henry, without any hesitation, resolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting, that if Metz, a city so very lately dismembered from the empire, should unfortunately happen, in the present conjuncture, to separate itself from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey absolutely necessary, besides that of taking from the Duke d'Epernon a citadel, which he might make use of to very bad purposes, and a considerable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry III. he had behaved more like a sovereign prince than a governor; and upon a supposition that he should one day carry his great designs into execution, there would be a necessity for having, in this country, so important by its situation, a governor from whom he could promise himself more assistance, than he could

could expect from D'Epernon. It was probable at leaſt that ſome favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorrain to France, and in that caſe it imported his Majeſty highly to go himſelf in perſon, and procure a perfect knowledge of this ſtate, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewiſe would be of uſe to him, as it afforded him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with ſome of the princes of Germany, and of ſounding their inclinations with reſpect to the houſe of Auſtria, to know if he might expect any aſſiſtance from them in an advantageous conjuncture, and even to attach them to himſelf, by reconciling many differences ſubſiſting between them, of which he was very well informed.

It was agreed between us, that his Majeſty ſhould ſet out without loſs of time, to the end, that by appearing at Metz with his whole court, (for it was reſolved that the Queen ſhould accompany him), at a time when the two factions, not having yet proceeded ſo far in their inſolence as to embrace a party contrary to the King, both the one and the other ſhould think of nothing but of juſtifying their conduct, and ſubmitting to his determination. The King would not even ſtay till the coats of his guards (for about this time they were to be all new clothed) were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correſpond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his ſecretaries of ſtate to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his route by La-Ferte-ſur-Jouarre, Dorman-ſur-Marne, Epernai, Chalons-ſur-Marne, and Clermont: the court ſtopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Freſne en Verdunois.

Henry's arrival put an end to all diſputes, and nothing was talked of but ſubmiſſion and obedience;

not but Sobole, who was ſenſible this affair would be terminated by his expulſion, had ambition and reſolution enough to maintain himſelf in the citadel in ſpite of his Majeſty, and diſcloſed his thoughts to his particular friends: but the moſt prudent amonſt them repreſented to him, that, if he engaged in ſuch a deſign, he would be irretrievable ruined: ſo that, ſubmitting to the arret for his baniſhment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Meſſin. The King appointed Montigny to be his lieutenant in this province, in the room of Sobole, and D'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and caſtle of Metz. Montigny, for this new poſt, quitted his government of Paris, the ſalary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that D'Epernon was far from being ſatisfied with all theſe changes, as may be eaſily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to ſay, he himſelf, through neceſſity, being the firſt to require the baniſhment of the two Soboles; ſo that every thing ſeemed to be done with his conſent.

I have taken this whole detail from the letters his Majeſty honoured me with during his ſtay at Metz, in which he informed me ſuccinctly of all the incidents, and dwelt ſtill longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itſelf, which he ſaid was three times larger than Orleans, and finely ſituated, but that the caſtle was not worth any thing; he likewiſe told me, that he wiſhed for my preſence in that country, that he might ſend me to viſit the frontier, and that, before ſix days, he ſhould put every thing in ſuch good order as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the King accompliſhed it in much leſs time, and was only detained there by an indiſpoſition that obliged him to take ſome medicines, after which he found himſelf

himſelf quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occaſioned by a cold. The Ducheſs of Bar, ſiſter to his Majeſty, came to Metz on the 10th of March, and the Duke de Deux Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days afterwards. The remainder of the time his Majeſty ſtaid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between Mademoiſelle de Rohan and the young Duke de Deux Ponts; in compoſing a difference between the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Prince of Brandenbourg *, concerning the biſhopric of Straſbourg, which was accompliſhed by dividing the revenue of this biſhopric equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretenſions; in reſtoring tranquillity to that city, and in being ſerviceable to all the princes who required his interpoſition in any of their affairs The name of Henry became ſo revered in this country, that ſeveral ſovereign princes of Germany took a reſolution to come thither and pay their reſpects to him, to offer him their ſervice, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambaſſadors, the neceſſary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his Majeſty had determined to ſtay at Metz. There were only the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Duke de Deux-Ponts, the Marquis of Brandenbourg and Pomerania, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and three or four others whoſe dominions lay neareſt the Rhine, that came thither in perſon.

The Jeſuits, who, ever ſince their baniſhment, had been uſing their utmoſt endeavours to procure their re eſtabliſhment in France, appeared no leſs

* John Manderſcheidt the Catholic Biſhop of Straſbourg, dying in 1594 Cardinal Charles of Lorrain obtained this biſhopric of the Pope; and the Proteſtants, on their part, got John George, brother of the Elector of Brandenbourg, elected; whence a war aroſe, which continued till this year. See the hiſtorians, Baſſomp erre's Memoirs, vol. 1. Septennaire, &c.

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ſolicitous to make their court to the King: for this purpoſe, they made uſe of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun *, ſupported by La Varenne, who declared himſelf their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirſted after the moſt eminent dignities in the church. D'Oſſat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardor and ſucceſs in their favour. The ambitious deſire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe, had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commiſſion. The obſtacles he raiſed at Rome to the marriage of the Princeſs Catharine, the King's ſiſter, is one proof of it, and his ſolicitations for the Jeſuits another; for the re-eſtabliſhment of this ſociety was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the moſt eſſential part of that ſyſtem of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there to that purſued by the council.

D'Oſſat, by printing his letters, which prove the truth of my aſſertions concerning him, ſeems not to be ſolicitous about concealing his true ſentiments from the public. But, if he is inexcuſable, for having almoſt always obſerved a conduct quite oppo-

* The Fathers Ignatius Armand, Provincial Chateiller, Broſſard, and La Tour, introduced by La Varenne, came on Wedneſday in Paſſion week, to throw themſelves at the King's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admiſſion into France. Henry IV. would not ſuffer the Provincial, who ſpoke for the whole order, to addreſs him kneeling. When he had done, the King anſwered them, That, for his part, he was not an ill-wiſher to the Jeſuits. He required them to give him in writing what they had been ſaying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Eaſter Monday; and the King promiſed to recall them, and even ordered the Father Provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring Father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me," added he, "for I think you "uſeful to the public, and to my kingdom." He diſmiſſed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. 129.; Chronol. Sept. anno 1603.; MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129. &c. P. Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 3. p. 556.

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ſite to that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have ſuggeſted to him, he deſerves ſtill greater reproaches, for having endeavoured, both in his diſcourſe and in his writings, to give a bad impreſſion of the King and his miniſters. When removed from the centre of buſineſs, all the informations he could obtain muſt be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of ſenſe and judgement ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive, that this paſſage tends partly to juſtify myſelf againſt the cenſures of D'Oſſat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not ſcruple to attribute Marechal Biron's rebellion, and the diſcontent of the other French lords, to the very little ſatisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppreſſion the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counſellors; and, that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himſelf upon his nice diſcernment in affairs of ſtate, preſumed, by deſiring Villeroi to ſhew his letter to the King, to adviſe his Majeſty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Poſſibly, if this proceeding of D'Oſſat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than miſtake in it: for it is not likely, that a man who received ſuch exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he repreſented as a general conſpiracy of all the ſtates in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction compoſed of a few perſons, whoſe heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiouſneſs of the late times; and that all the reſt of the French nobility placed their glory and their happineſs in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their ſide, praiſed him no leſs, and, in effect, had no leſs reaſon to praiſe him, having but lately received a very conſiderable gratuity from him; and, laſtly, that the people, beſides the

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ſuppreſſion of the penny in the ſhilling, had, by his Majeſty, been farther relieved, by an abatement of two millions in the land tax.

I was not acquainted with any of D'Oſſat's malicious proceedings, nor of his perſonal complaints againſt me, for not paying his penſion exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommand the ſpeedy payment of it to me; and acquitted himſelf of this commiſſion, by exalting, as uſual, the great abilities and ſervices of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accoſted by a banker, who made me a propoſal to diſcharge certain penſions, given by his Majeſty to perſons at Rome, among others, D'Oſſat's; which he did with the ſame unpolite freedom, that the cabal of my enemies affected to uſe me with. There are ſome offices in themſelves of ſuch dignity, as to draw reſpect and conſideration upon the perſons who poſſeſs them. I was not ſorry, that the banker was made ſenſible of this truth, and I ſent him away coldly enough. D'Oſſat found himſelf obliged to write to me four months afterwards; and I received his letter at the ſame time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambaſſador at that court. D'Oſſat expreſſed himſelf in ſo inſolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deſerved no better an anſwer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion, that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an inconteſtable proof of the injurious language he publicly uſed againſt me. That inſtant, I confeſs, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and ſubſtituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time reſolved to expedite no more, but by the King's expreſs command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this reſolution; and in the poſtſcript of my letter, gave him a detail of the ſpeeches and letters of D'Oſſat, in which I was concerned; and,

in the height of my juſt indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of *ungrateful* and *imprudent*; which, if what I heard of him was true, he deſerved; if falſe, I gave Villeroi to underſtand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interpoſition in favour of D'Oſſat. He was ſtill more affected by my threat to acquaint the King with the inſolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified. I conſented; and all the revenge I took upon D'Oſſat, was to render his intriguues at Rome ineffectual: thoſe in favour of the Jeſuits were continued only during this year, for the ſociety returned to France in the following year.

I ſhall reſume this article in a proper place, and ſhall have occaſion once more to introduce D'Oſſat on account of a memorial which was addreſſed to me from Rome againſt him. At preſent, what remains to be ſaid of him regards the coadjutorſhip of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail; but as it is not, I ſhall content myſelf with only informing the reader, that D'Oſſat procured himſelf to be made coadjutor of Baïeux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His Majeſty gave me this abbey, after performing the promiſe he made to the Maintenons, that they ſhould loſe nothing by it, ſince they obtained an equivalent upon the biſhopric of Evreux. Villeroi earneſtly ſolicited his Majeſty for D'Oſſat, and endeavoured to engage my intereſt for his friend: Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly diſſatisfied that this favour was granted him.

The Pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the King's abſence, upon the journey his Majeſty had undertaken. That his holineſs intereſted himſelf in it, was occaſioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themſelves of the occaſion of this voyage, that which was

conceived of his Majesty's armaments and treasures, which common fame had greatly increased, and infected even the Holy Father with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to reassure him, without troubling myself to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

His Majesty and I treated by letters of many different affairs; and, amongst others, that of Flanders It was computed, that the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost 18,000 men, and fired above 250,000 volleys of cannon before Ostend: Nevertheless the siege was but very little advanced; and in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault, they were repulsed with great loss. From this the Archduke was convinced, that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his side, after the reduction of Grave, laid siege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to invest Boisleduc, not considering that this enterprize exceeded his strength, it being impossible, as I have already observed, to take Boisleduc with so small a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of losing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the satisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the castle of Vactendock, where they were, in a manner, already masters. The garrison of this place, too weak to resist them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the castle to their discretion, when they were joined by some Dutch troops, who passed by that place in their march to the army of Prince Maurice, and all together attacked the Spaniards, and dislodged them from the castle.

It may be easily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war, without being

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at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was abſolutely neceſſary that France ſhould continue to contribute. The ſiege of Oſtend alone had coſt them 100,000 volleys of cannon, and 7000 men. His Majeſty, for the intereſt of both the powers, kept Buzenval in thoſe provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent ſent by the ſtates to the King was named Aërſens *. This agent repreſented to me, that his countrymen would be ſoon in no condition to keep the field, unleſs his majeſty would permit them to recruit the French companies that were in their ſervice with Frenchmen. The King ſent me an anſwer from Châlons-ſur-Marne to this requeſt, which I had communicated to him, and told me, that he conſented to it; but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon theſe conditions, That it ſhould be Aërſens himſelf that ſhould raiſe the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in ſuch a manner, as to draw upon him ſome reproaches from the King of Spain: That the recruits ſhould be raiſed with the utmoſt expedition, and the utmoſt ſecrecy; and that the ſoldiers who liſted, the number of which he deſired to know, ſhould file off, without any noiſe, to the place where they were to imbark, marching ſix in a company at moſt, with no other arms than their ſwords, and no more money than was neceſſary to anſwer their expences till they got

* Francis Aërſens, reſident, and afterwards ambaſſador from the ſtates of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time repreſent him as a man of a ſubtle, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal de Richelieu ſpeaks of him, Oxenſtiern, Chancellor of Sweden, and Guiſcardi, Chancellor of Montferrat, as the three only politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It was the received "opinion of that time," ſays Amelot de la Houſſaye, "that Henry "IV. had an amour with Aërſen's wife, and that the huſband was "content with it, by reaſon of the profit he reaped from it: This "amour laid the foundation of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres "a-year to his ſon, who was called *Van Sommerdyke*."

there: that they ſhould take ſhipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this laſt city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice ſhould be ſent to Chaſtes, who was governor of it, and Vice-admiral de Vic, whoſe concurrence was neceſſary to the deſign, and for whom he ſent me a letter without a ſeal. Some alterations, however, were made in theſe orders: Aerſens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raiſed the recruits, but did it with all poſſible ſecrecy His Majeſty thought it would not be amiſs to ſend the garriſon he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders; and, for fear that they ſhould inliſt with the Archduke, caſt his eyes upon my couſin Bethune to conduct them. As for the penſion for which Aërſens ſtrongly importuned me, the King deferred taking a reſolution about it till his return.

During the ſtay his Majeſty made at Metz, the Duke of Bouillon brought this affair likewiſe upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the Elector Palatine, to whom he was allied by the Electreſs: he prevailed upon this Elector to undertake his juſtification to Henry, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his Majeſty ſent me immediately to have my opinion of it. The purport of this letter, in which the Elector Palatine very unſeaſonably affected to treat with the King of France as with an equal, was to repreſent to him the great affliction it gave to the Duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity ſuſpected by the King, and to aſſure him that he himſelf was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanſwerable. The King had ſent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La-Tremouille that he ſhould at leaſt ſtop at Sedan; but Bouillon had done neither the one nor the other; the Palatine, therefore, to excuſe the Duke, alledged, that with regard to the firſt complaint, the

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quality of his accuſers made it imprudent for the Duke to go and abandon himſelf to them; and to the ſecond he ſaid, that the gentleman who had brought his Majeſty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a ſincere intention to go and expect his Majeſty at Sedan; but that thinking it neceſſary to take his route through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and alſo to pay his reſpects to the Elector and Electreſs, his kinſwoman, whom he had not yet ſeen, it was owing to his tedious journey that he had miſſed the opportunity of receiving his Majeſty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated aſſurances of the Duke's attachment to his Majeſty, for the ſincerity of which the Elector brought the connection there was between them as a proof.

Henry anſwered the Elector's letter with more politeneſs than he had reaſon to expect, and promiſed, as he had always done, to reſtore the Duke of Bouillon to his friendſhip and eſteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himſelf to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making theſe new proteſtations, his Majeſty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man named Du-Pleſſis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been ſent by the Duke of Tremouille to the Duke of Bouillon with diſpatches, in which his Majeſty was nearly concerned; that this courier, who was to ſet out from Longjumeau, had orders to paſs through Sedan without making himſelf known, not even to Du Maurier; and at his return, he was again to paſs through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the anſwer to Tremouille's diſpatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His Majeſty would not have entered into ſo circumſtantial an account of this affair, but that he wiſhed (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert

cert with Rapin, could arreſt this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thours, after he ſhould have received letters in that city, which would fully diſcover the nature of his commiſſion.

His Majeſty had certainly no occaſion for farther proofs of the Duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too raſhly, that the ſubmiſſion which appeared in that ſtep he had lately prevailed upon the Elector to make in his favour, was only diſſembled, with a view to two things, the firſt was to inſpire the King with a ſecurity in regard to his perſon, and the ſecond to continue to draw from him thoſe ſums which for a long time he had regularly received for the ſupport of his fortreſſes. This demand he renewed by Saint Germain, with whom Henry was highly diſpleaſed. His Majeſty recommended it earneſtly to me, to have no regard to the inſtances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the ſame time to give him no reaſon to ſuſpect that I had any knowledge of what he had juſt related to me. Theſe orders were indeed unneceſſary, after the diſcoveries I had lately made of the new diſcontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongſt the Proteſtants, and from the reſult of the converſation I had with Henry at the Arſenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed; after having long conſidered the caſt of the cabal, which ſtruck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at laſt to ſet him at peace, by ſhewing him, that however formidable might be its preſent appearance, it would, after ſome ineffectual ſtruggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconſiderateneſs of thoſe whom we are pleaſed to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they

may

may fix upon ſome particular aims, and follow them not only with raſhneſs but rapture, yet theſe aims, are always to a certain degree general, and directed to ſome common intereſt; but that any private one's ends, ſuch as proceed from the anger or wiſhes of a particular man, or of a ſmall number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to ſay farther, that of general intereſts the voice of the people will give the moſt certain judgement: allowing this principle, I conſidered the ſeditious party as terrible, only on account of the miſchievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by miſrepreſentations of the King and government; and the dread that might be raiſed of oppreſſion and ſlavery. And as thoſe influences and thoſe terrors would be made every day leſs by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never ſee itſelf oppoſed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortreſſes, unable to ſtand a fortnight againſt a royal army.

The King was at Metz when he heard the firſt news of the ſickneſs of Queen Eliſabeth, which was ſent to him by the Count de Beaumont *, our ambaſſador at London: his Majeſty thereupon reſolved to haſten his departure from that city. At his ſiſter's requeſt he went from thence to Nancy, where ſhe had cauſed a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for ſome days, in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death † of this great Queen, which

* Chriſtopher de Harley, Governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

† Eliſabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report, and the common opinion of the hiſtorians at that time, were, that her death was occaſioned by a ſecret grief and melancholy which ſhe could not conquer: the occaſion of which was attributed to her remorſe and ſelf reproach for being the cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, ſhe had ſhewn the greateſt affection. That is the opinion

which he heard of soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and Henry in particular, who could not hope, in the successor of Elizabeth, to find the same favourable disposition to all his designs as he had in this Princess, "the irreconcileable enemy of "his irreconcileable enemies and a second self:" such were the terms which Henry made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled with the praises of this great Queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

His Majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political affairs of Europe, determined, as I have already said, to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to King James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose; I repeat his words, and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new King in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his Majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour

nion of Matthieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and some others say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary say, that, like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her cruelty in putting her first cousin, Queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign: nevertheless, I acquiesce in the elegy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying, she had those of a King, not merely as such, but of a very great King. She spake Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish; she was also well versed in the mathematics history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life, see Thuanus, Perefixe, Journal de Hen. IV. La-Sept. *anno* 1603. Memoires d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. III. p. 209. and other French historians.

and fidelity which he ſaid I had acquired among foreigners. Henry ſoon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint Germaine-laye, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, compleated a tour of two months.

I had received a ſecond letter ſoon after the firſt, in which his Majeſty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Eliſabeth, the Spaniards began to uſe their utmoſt efforts to gain the new king: we ſhall afterwards ſee that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thouſand things to ſay to me on this head, which made him extremely deſirous of an opportunity to converſe freely with me about it. I joined him at the houſe of Montglat, where he had ſcarce any attendants with him, at which he expreſſed great ſatisfaction. He embraced me cloſely three times, ſaid a few words publicly to me on the ſucceſs of his journey, and inquired more particularly of me about his buildings * at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arſenal, and for other works, of which I had the inſpection and conduct, and which had been partly the ſubjects of thoſe letters I had received from him; therein he had alſo directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called the Hall of Antiquities.

After I had, in a conciſe but ſatisfactory manner, replied to all theſe articles, Henry took me by the hand, and led me unto the garden, at the door of which he ordered ſome of his guards to be placed. The embaſſy to England was the ſole ſubject of our

* Henry IV. built the new caſtle of Saint-Germain, extended the gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terraſſes.

converſation. His Majeſty had at firſt imparted to his court his reſolution to ſend this embaſſy, but without naming the perſon whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited ſome murmurs among the partiſans of the Pope and Spain; and it was ſaid, that Henry ſought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his Majeſty, notwithſtanding, declared publicly his intention to inveſt me with this employment, their diſguſt then ſhewed itſelf without reſtraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reaſon to think was made up of my moſt inveterate enemies, boldly repreſented to his Majeſty, that to ſend a Huguenot to treat concerning the intereſt of the kingdom, with a prince of the ſame religion, would be highly dangerous to the ſtate; and more eſpecially ſo, were he intruſted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his Majeſty to revoke my nomination, they contented themſelves with getting my commiſſion confined only to condolances upon the death of the late Queen, and compliments for the new King; or, at moſt, to an inſpection into the ſtate of affairs in England, but without any power to act, or even to confer on the principal occaſion of my journey.

Henry, at the ſame time that he informed me of theſe ſecret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his aſſurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his deſigns, either with reſpect to the embaſſy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at firſt in view: and he further confirmed this his reſolution, by judiciouſly obſerving, that an embaſſy, whoſe commiſſion ſhould be confined merely to ceremony, would be uſeleſs and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever ſeeing the new king of England purſue the maxims of Eliſabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princeſs,

ceſs, it would, doubtleſs, depend chiefly on the manner in which he ſhould be at firſt prejudiſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its ancient partiſans: but he confeſſed to me, that this point appeared to him in all reſpects ſo extremely difficult, that unleſs it was managed with the utmoſt dexterity, both in the council of France and at the Engliſh court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further ſaid, that it would firſt be neceſſary, ſo to impoſe on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might ſuſpect nothing in my commiſſion more than what ſhould be declared to me, in their preſence, and even with their conſent. His Majeſty, on this occaſion, repeated a ſimile of La-Riviere's, which he often uſed, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's ſhop, in which are contained not only moſt ſalutary remedies, but alſo the moſt ſubtile poiſons; and that the King, like an able apothecary, ought to make the beſt advantage of both, by mixing them in the moſt proper manner. In regard to the propoſitions which I ſhould make to the Engliſh miniſters, he ſaid, I ought to be cautious not to expoſe the ſovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the ſhame of having made advances which ſhould be neglected or deſpiſed, and perhaps to a neceſſity of revenging them: and as to the more ſecret propoſitions, which, at proper opportunity, I ſhould make to King James, he ſaid it would require great judgement and dexterity, to avoid haſtening, by any imprudent ſtep, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or, at leaſt, far from being concluded. His majeſty ſuppoſed, that all cauſes of diſſatisfaction might, as much as it was poſſible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, ſuch inſtructions, in regard to my embaſſy, as ſhould appear to be only general, and merely complimen-

tary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, ſhould not prevent my ſeconding his majeſty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might preſent; provided, nevertheleſs, that I did it as of myſelf, and without giving this Prince to underſtand, that I was authoriſed herein by the King my maſter.

What his majeſty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of ſuch great conſequence, that I deſired him to grant me four days to conſider of it, before I gave him my anſwer. I immediately ſet out poſt for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflections, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I eaſily perſuaded myſelf to comply with the King's deſires; but I thought it a neceſſary precaution, to have his Majeſty's more immediate avowal and authority for all theſe propoſitions which he had enjoined me to make to the King of England, as of myſelf, without which I thought it would be riſking too much. To be favourably received and heard by King James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the beſt claim; but I was ſenſible, that, by this, I ſhould be obliged to break through thoſe bonds of circumſpection, which in France, I had preſcribed to myſelf, out of a deference to the religion of the Prince. I had no reaſon to doubt, but that, whatever words might eſcape me, which in this reſpect ſhould appear ſomewhat free, would be as induſtriouſly reported by the enemies I ſhould have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cauſe for being apprehenſive, that ſomething of this kind ſhould be afterwards repreſented in ſuch a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his Majeſty, who as well as other good princes, had his moments of miſtruſt and ill humour; and ſometimes one of theſe moments is ſufficient to ruin a miniſter, however firmly ſupported; a reverſe of fortune

fortune which it was not impoſſible but I myſelf might experience.

All theſe conſiderations confirmed me in a reſolution not to depart without a writing ſigned by his Majeſty and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expreſſions I might uſe to the King of England, I might be able, if neceſſary, to juſtify myſelf, and ſhew that I had done nothing but to promote the ſucceſs of our affairs, and that by his Majeſty's expreſs orders. Thus I declared myſelf to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arſenal to receive my anſwer; tho' indeed I made this declaration no otherwiſe than by ſaying, that I was full of fears leaſt any part of my conduct, on this occaſion, ſhould draw upon me the misfortune of his diſpleaſure.

We were at this inſtant alone. Henry, after having taken a ſhort turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his cuſtom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My propoſal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confeſſed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himſelf the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expreſſed in ſuch terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the King of England and his miniſters, ſo zealous for the Reformed Religion, as to give them aſſurances that I preferred it both to my country and my King, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the King of England. The propoſitions which I was to make this prince were alſo enumerated; but I ſhall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with Queen Eliſabeth, and of Henry's grand deſign. I was alſo

directed

directed to desire the King of England, in case he should not approve of what I had to propose to him, not to let it be known in France, because I was not authorised to make any such propositions; and further, (supposing King James approved them), I should feign to defer communicating to the King my master what might be agreed between us, till I should see whether it would be as favourably received by the northern crowns, and the States general of the United Provinces, as by his Britannic Majesty.

Such was my secret credential letter, which I then considered as a great acquisition, and no doubt the King, on this side, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was sufficient. It was necessary to be prepared for the King of England's absolute and entire compliance with all his Majesty's intentions, and to be able to make the best of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank signed by the King; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did scarce permit us even to think of this.

In regard to the general instructions which I have mentioned, the King deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he set out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow; but they were countermanded on occasion of a violent disorder, which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May *. This was so strong a retention of urine, that

* The King, says the Marechal de Bassompierre, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled, (these are the words which we find in the Journal de L'Etoile), the result of their consultations were in these terms: *Abstinent a quavis muliere, etiam regina: sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsos*

that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The King himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached; and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had to live, between the care of his soul, and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately dispatched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message. "My friend, "I find myself so ill, that it seems highly probable "God would soon dispose of me; and it being my "duty, next to the care of my soul, to make the "necessary dispositions to secure the succession to "my children, that their reign may be prosperous, "and may promote the happiness of my wife, my "kingdom, my good and faithful servants, and my "dear people, whom I love equally with my own "children, I desire to confer with you on all these "matters; come to me therefore with all dili-"gence, and say nothing of it to any one; make "an appearance only of going to the conventicle "at Ablon; and having privately ordered post-"horses to be there in readiness, proceed imme-"diately to this place."

That the perusal of this most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the King's chamber, I found him in his bed; the Queen was seated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and said, "My good friend, draw near and em-"brace me, I am extremely glad you are come; "is it not strange that, two hours after I wrote to "you, my excessive pains should begin to abate? "I hope, by degrees, they will entirely leave me,

lapsos vitam cum morte commutet. Henry IV. did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

"for

" for I have made water three times, the laſt moſt " profuſely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the Queen, " This," ſaid he, " of all my ſervants, is he who beſt underſtands, and is moſt " carefull of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, " and, had I been taken from you, would have " been beſt able to ſerve both you and my children. " I know, indeed, that his temper is ſomewhat auſtere, that he is often rather too plain for ſuch a " ſpirit as yours, and that, on this account, many " have endeavoured to prejudice you and my children againſt him, that he might be removed from " you; but if ever this event ſhould happen, and " you ſhould employ ſuch and ſuch perſons, (naming them ſoftly in her ear), and, inſtead of " following the good counſels of this man, ſhould " be wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon " it, it will prove deſtructive to the ſtate, and may, " perhaps, ruin my children and yourſelf. I have " ſent thus ſuddenly for him, that, with him and " you, I might conſult upon the means to prevent " theſe evils; but I thank God my precautions will " probably not yet be neceſſary."

Couriers upon couriers were the next day diſpatched, to diſſipate the diſagreeable rumours which were already ſpread in all places. I did not myſelf return to Paris, till I had ſeen the King make water: he would have it ſo, and he did it twice with ſuch facility, that I was perfectly ſatisfied all danger was over. Three days after I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that having been bled in the left arm by La-Rivierie the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and, having reſted well the whole night, found himſelf grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the intereſt I ſeemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occaſion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promiſed to obſerve what I had ſaid.

He was already able to be as circumſtantial as uſual in thoſe details with which his letters were commonly filled; he directed me in this, to ſend two hundred crowns to each of the perſons afflicted with the evil, whom his own diſorder had prevented him from touching, and whom nevertheleſs he would not ſend back. Herein alſo, he thanked me for the portraits of the new King and Queen of England, which I had ſent him. His Majeſty's phyſicians were unanimous, on this occaſion, in making him the ſame repreſentations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exerciſe in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himſelf conſiderably better for it; he alſo received great benefit from the waters of Pougues, which he drank this year for ſome time, during which the young Princeſs his daughter was taken ſo ill, that her life was deſpaired of; both the King and the Dauphin his ſon went frequently to ſee her.

Together with this letter from his Majeſty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroi wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his Majeſty had ſent to acquaint the Count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the King of England; alſo that I was expected by his Britannic Majeſty, who attributed my delay to the King's indiſpoſition, and to the Baron Du-Tour's not having notified to the King in form, the death of Eliſabeth, and the acceſſion of James VI. * to the crown of England. The

* Henry Stuart, Baron of Darnly, Duke of Rotheſay, &c. eſpouſed Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; ſhe having after his death retired into Scotland. He was ſtrangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at firſt King of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his ſon, and died in 1625. On his acceſſion to the crown of England, the Marquis of Roſny wrote the following complimentary letter to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, at that time his ambaſſador in

The Baron Du-Tour was, for this purpoſe, ſent by James to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: he left London the day after this Prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure for England, for theſe reaſons, being no longer to be deferred, the King would ſoon ſend for me, and inform me of the day: but his Majeſty changed his intention in this reſpect, and came himſelf to Paris The heat which had begun early this year was exceſſive, and rendered the ſands of Fontainebleau inſupportable to one but juſt recovering from ſickneſs.

Two days after his Majeſty's arrival at Paris, he aſſembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and Sillery, on the ſubject of my departure, and that I might receive my public inſtructions in their preſence. When I entered the King's cloſet, where this council was held, I told his Majeſty that the

France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the preſent Duke of Sully.

To the Scotch ambaſſador.

SIR,

THE intereſt you have in the proſperity of the affairs of the King of Scotland, joined to the deſire I have to do you ſervice, have induced me to write to you, that by the letter which I have juſt received from the governor of Dieppe, you might be informed of the deceaſe of the Queen of England, of the acceſſio, reception, and acknowledgent of the King of Scotland, to that crown, and that all things there are in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity; for which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the deſire of every good man.

SIR,

Your moſt humble couſin

and ſervant,

ROSNY.

Count

Count of Soiſſons was in the chamber without, and that it appeared to me neceſſary that he likewiſe ſhould be introduced to be a witneſs of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the Count was there; and that, from what I had juſt ſaid, he would take occaſion to reconcile us to each other; for the Count of Soiſſon's reſentment ſtill ſubſiſted. Accordingly, the Count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand, that I had rendered him an office which he had no reaſon to expect from me; he thanked me for it, aſſured me, that he would forget the paſt, and for the future would be my friend; but he did not long continue in theſe ſentiments.

The principal object of theſe inſtructions had always been a cloſe alliance between France and England and Spain, notwithſtanding all that had been done to prevent it by the partiſans of that crown in France. The principal difference between theſe and the ſecret inſtructions which I had received from his Majeſty was, that, in the former, he had concealed the true motives to this alliance. I will not tranſcribe him here, as the particulars would be too long and circumſtantial. The ſubſtance of them was briefly as follows: to take every opportunity of diſcourſing upon, and informing the King of England, of all the unjuſt and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inſpire him with an averſion to that crown; to repreſent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new uſurpations in Italy; her ſecret practices in England, by means of the Jeſuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the ſanction of the authority which the Pope pretends to have over thoſe kingdoms; her deſigns upon Straſbourg, by forcing the Cardinal of Lorrain to conſent to the Pope's giving the coadjutorſhip of it to the brother-in-law of the Catholic King; finally, her proceedings to obtain

univerſal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, the King of England muſt either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or ſecret war againſt that crown. In the firſt caſe, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries; after which, ſhe would not fail to turn her arms either againſt France or England; and moſt probably towards the latter, on account of the Pope's long inveteracy to it. I was alſo to undeceive the King of England, in regard to the report induſtriouſly ſpread by Spain, that ſhe had no intention to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a diſtinct kingdom, ſuch as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the Archduke. As a laſt reſource, I was to inſiſt, that Spain ſhould at leaſt be made to purchaſe this peace at a high price, or ſhould be obliged to the King of France or England for it; and eſpecially that ſhe ſhould give up Oſtend. In caſe an open war ſhould be reſolved upon, I was to endeavour to diſcover the intention of the King of England on that head, and, if poſſible, prevent it, and repreſent to him the neceſſity of beginning by giving a powerful aſſiſtance to the States.

Finally, if a ſecret war was reſolved upon, in which I was to uſe my endeavours to confirm or engage the King of England, in this caſe I was to repreſent to him, that prudence required he ſhould begin by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, ſecuring to his deſcendents, and by gaining Europe in his intereſts; ſo that Spain might be one day irreſiſtibly attacked: that, till this was affected, it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitleſs employment of her forces againſt Flanders: that, in the mean time, the conditions of the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children

dren of the two Kings; which, however, ſhould not be declared till they had begun the execution of their deſigns. I was, moreover, to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the ſuccours which were proviſionally to be given the States; and prevent the Engliſh council from demanding the 300,000 livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, leſt they might thereby be induced to throw themſelves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to perſuade his Britannic Majeſty to be at new expences, equal with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in favour of theſe people, and to aſſiſt them with the ſame number of ſhips as Queen Eliſabeth had done; alſo to obtain permiſſion, that the 450,000 livres which this Queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies ſhould require in Flanders; and that 300,000 livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the 750,000 livres which Henry obliged himſelf to join to them, a fund might be formed of 1500,000 livres for the preſent neceſſities of the States-general. In caſe I could not gain a compliance with theſe articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of 300,000 livres diſcharged, France obliging herſelf to pay it; alſo, to manage this affair in ſuch a manner, that the King of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as ſecurities for theſe ſuccours; and to ſound his intentions in regard to thoſe of which he was already poſſeſſed in Zealand. In purſuance of this plan, I was to conſult with Barnevelt, to act in concert with him and the States deputies at London, ſeem attached to their intereſts, entertain them with agreeable hopes, perſuade them that their intereſts were the care of the Britiſh council, without giving umbrage to this council, and make the beſt advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the King.

Theſe

Theſe were the principal points of my inſtructions. There were ſome others which did not relate to the ſame ſubject, or at leaſt not immediately: ſuch was that in regard to the piracies of the Engliſh. I was charged to complain, that, ſince the treaty of Vervins, they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a diſſolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being diſadvantageous to France, which, by that treaty, had not the ſame privileges and immunities in England that the Engliſh had in France. The cloſe union between Eliſabeth and Henry had cauſed all things to be equal on both ſides, during the reign of that Queen, and his treaty was then conſidered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumſpect on this head, and even entirely to ſuppreſs it, if I found, that by bringing it upon the carpet, I might run any riſk of raiſing a ſuſpicion in the new King, from which Eliſabeth herſelf had not been exempt, that France only ſought to imbark England in a war with Spain, out of which ſhe would then eaſily extricate herſelf. If what the Baron du Tour had ſaid in France, of his Britannic Majeſty's reſolution to ſuccour Oſtend, ſhould appear to be well grounded, I might then ſpare myſelf part of theſe precautions.

The manner in which I was to treat with the ambaſſadors of the King of Spain and the Archdukes; the attention which I was to beſtow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the juſtification of Beaumont, againſt whom King James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the ſame privileges of this Prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: theſe were other articles of my inſtructions. There was one article concerning the Duke of Bouillon, in reſpect to whom I was to be ſilent, unleſs the King of England ſhould

ſhould ſpeak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the Elector Palatine; and in this caſe, I was to paint the Duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the King of France in any thing on his account. We may obſerve, that the ſubject of my negotiations were ſufficiently extenſive; for I was to gain a knowledge of the diſpoſitions of the King and people of England, not only with reſpect to Spain and Flanders, but alſo to the northern crowns. To ſay the truth, the political ſtate of all Europe was concerned in my enſuing conduct, and its conſequences.

Theſe inſtructions *, in which to my other titles, his Majeſty had added that of Marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in preſence of the Count of Soiſſons, Sillery, and Jeannin, ſigned by his Majeſty and Villeroi. Henry alſo gave me ſix letters, one from his Majeſty to the King of England, beſides another for the ſame Prince for form-ſake counter-ſigned: two others, in the ſame manner, from the King to the Queen of England, and two others from the Queen of France to the King and Queen of England: his Majeſty alſo gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewiſe ſecretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this Prince, he preſented me his hand to kiſs, then embraced me and wiſhed me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good ſucceſs.

The beginning of June I ſet out for Calais, where I was to embark, having with me a retinue of up-

* The original of theſe inſtructions, ſigned with Henry IV.'s own hand is ſtill in being; as alſo another piece, written by M. de Roſny, bearing this title. "A memorandum made by me, and delivered to "M. de Villeroi, according to his deſire, to aſſiſt him in preparing "my inſtructions." This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embaſſy to London. Cabinet of the Duke of Sully.

wards

wards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themſelves ſuch, of whom a conſiderable number were really of the firſt diſtinction. Juſt before my departure old Servin came and preſented his ſon to me, and begged I would uſe my endeavours to make him a man of ſome worth and honeſty; but he confeſſed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of underſtanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curioſity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monſter; for I can give no other idea of that aſſemblage of the moſt excellent and the moſt pernicious qualities. Let the reader repreſent to himſelf a man of a genius ſo lively, and an underſtanding ſo extenſive, as rendered him ſcarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of ſo vaſt and ready a comprehenſion, that he immediately made himſelf maſter of what he attempted, and of ſo prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he poſſeſſed all parts of philoſophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was ſo well ſkilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able diſputant for and againſt the reformed religion indifferently; he not only underſtood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but alſo all the different jargons or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them ſo naturally, and ſo perfectly imitated the geſtures and manners both of the ſeveral nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of theſe countries, and this quality he applied to counterfeit all ſorts of perſons, wherein he ſucceeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the beſt comedian and greateſt droll that perhaps ever appeared;

he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verſes; he played upon almoſt all inſtruments, was a perfect maſter of muſic, and ſung moſt agreeably and juſtly: he likewiſe could ſay maſs; for he was of a diſpoſition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well ſuited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dextrous, and fit for all exerciſes; he could ride well, and in dancing, wreſtling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was ſkilled in almoſt all mechanic arts. But now for the reverſe of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard, and glutton; a ſharper in play, immerſed in every ſpecies of vice, a blaſphemer, an atheiſt; in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and ſociety; the truth of which he himſelf evinced with his laſt breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with a glaſs in his hand, curſing and denying God.

From the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his Majeſty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I uſed only the common character; my general cyphers I uſed for ſuch matters as were to be known only to the council; and my ſecret cypher I employed in what I addreſſed to the King himſelf which was to be ſeen only by him: his Majeſty choſe to have the greateſt part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering ſo great, that he at laſt entruſted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himſelf well ſkilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myſelf in the uſe of this cypher, whenever I wanted to deſcend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my let-

ter: however I complied with his Majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after the affair of the lost dispatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London, and my negotiations with King James.

I staid a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral of France ready to receive me; and the vice-admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais of the good understanding between the English and the Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of Count d'Aremberg, ambassadors from the Arch-dukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De-Vic, of the enterprises of the English cruizers upon the coasts of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

I embarked the 15th of June at six o'clock in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility; but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect, as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only sought an opportunity of shewing the English his resentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-top-gallant mast, I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence which,

which, according to them, was equally injurious to the King of England and the King of France, whom I repreſented; and I had reaſon to think them ſtill more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to conſult me, fifty ſhot were immediately fired againſt De-Vic's * ſhip. It was with great difficulty

* Thuanas and the Septenary Chronology, whoſe teſtimony hereupon is of great weight, more eſpecially as they agree in it, both ſay, that the captain of the Engliſh ſhip in which de Roſny was, did actually fire upon the French vice admiral. But as I ſuſpect our Memoirs, either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have ſomewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above-mentioned: "De Vic, vice-"admiral of France, ſoon after he had caſt anchor in Dover-road, (at "which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de Roſny), ſail-"ed from thence in his return to Calais, and paſſing by the ſhip on "board of which M. de Roſny then was, he ordered his flag to be "hoiſted, and gave him a ſalute; ſoon after which the flag was a-"gain taken in. The Engliſh captain of the ſhip wherein M. de "Roſny was, ſeeing the French flag hoiſted, commanded his men to "fire upon the vice-admiral of France, ſwearing he would ſuffer no "flag to be ſeen in theſe ſeas but that of England. A gun was im-"mediately fired upon De-Vic's ſhip, who having demanded the rea-"ſon of it, prepared to defend himſelf. M. de Roſny compained of "it to the Engliſh captain, and repreſented the firing this ſhot as an "offence done to himſelf; but he talked to a man who refuſed to "hear reaſon, and who anſwered him only with rage and fury; he "was therefore forced to ſubmit, and made a ſign to the vice-admiral "of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic thinking "himſelf injured, demanded ſatisfaction of the Engliſh admiral; who "anſwered him, that the King of England, his maſter, did not per-"mit what the captain had preſumed to do; deſired that he would "excuſe his indiſcretion, &c. and promiſed that nothing like it ſhould "ever happen again. This reply appeaſed and quieted all parties." Chron. Septen. and Thuanas, anno 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Teſtament Politique, makes uſe of this as an argument to demonſtrate to Lewis XIII. the abſolute neceſſity, there was for a naval power: "The cannon-ſhot, ſays he, by piercing the veſſel, pierced the "hearts of all true Frenchmen; and if the words of King James were "civil, yet were they of no other effect than to oblige the Duke of "Sully to obtain his ſatisfaction from his own prudence, by feigning "to be contented, though his diſcontent and his reaſon for it, was "really greater, and farther from being removed than ever. The "King, your father, was under a neceſſity to uſe diſſimulation on "this occaſion, but he did it with the reſolution, whenever it might "again be neceſſary, to maintain the juſt rights of his crown by ſuch "a naval force as time would furniſh him with the means to acquire."

difficulty that I made myſelf heard; which, however, I at laſt effected, by repreſenting to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour; and alſo to give me a more diſtinguiſhed mark of his reſpect, by dropping his flag upon my firſt command ſo to do. I thought it would be moſt prudent to do this; and the Engliſh hearing what I ſaid, were ſo far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next diſcharge at random. I made a ſignal to De-Vic, which he perfectly well underſtood, and took in his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he ſwore at the ſame time to be revenged on the Engliſh whenever he ſhould again meet with them. Though I much queſtion, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened. Be that however as it will, the diſpute was ended by this means, and our paſſage met with no further interruption.

I arrived at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were then waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the ſame office in England, which Gondy had in France, being that part of the reception of ambaſſadors, which conſiſts in providing them with lodging, proviſions, horſes, or chariots, and other things of this nature. The Mayor of Dover alſo came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were ſo great, that it was ſaid, that nothing like it had ever before been ſeen for any ambaſſador. But I was not now to be impoſed upon by theſe appearances, having ſo lately received a different

Part 2. chap. 9. In regard to the fact, which is alſo related in the Teſtament, the circumſtances are told in a manner almoſt entirely different. We may farther obſerve, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he ſpeaks of the ſatisfaction which he deſired King James to grant him, paſſes it over very ſlightly: doubtleſs, becauſe he would not appear to have been ſo very grievouſly offended as perhaps he really was.

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ſpecimen of the Engliſh politeneſs, of which I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

The governor of this place ſent his nephew to me, to deſire I would come with him and ſee the caſtle, he not being able to wait on me himſelf, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a ſecond, from which I conceived a good opinion of the perſon by whom they were ſent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might juſtly have fallen upon myſelf, had I, after this, quitted Dover without waiting on the Governor. I therefore went to the caſtle the next day, with all my retinue; but I ſoon diſcovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee the caſtle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and too rudely enough which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myſelf, quit their ſwords. Being introduced to the Governor, whoſe name was Thomas Wymes, he received us ſeated in his chair, but, perceiving that ſome of us were looking at the towers and walls of the caſtle, he put on ſo ſour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid leſt our preſence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be ſaid or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeneſs; and this proved to be no unneceſſary caution.

When we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer ſhewed himſelf that polite and obliging perſon, who but juſt before had demanded a liſt of thoſe who accompanied me, that, as he ſaid, they might all be furniſhed with the neceſſary horſes and carriages: and I could not but ſuppoſe his ſole deſign, in getting this liſt, was, that he might ſend it to London; for he ſuffered all my retinue to provide

provide themſelves horſes as well as they could, and at their own coſt; and theſe mild people hired them at ſo high a price, and at the ſame time with ſo much arrogance, that they ſeemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our ſentiments of ſo rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the Earl of Beaumont.

I had more reaſon to be pleaſed with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury. They came to meet me upon the road, and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and reſpects, they pretended to have received orders ſo to do from the King of England. Canterbury is but a ſmall city, but extremely populous, and ſo polite, that, in no other place I received ſuch diſtinguiſhed honours and civilities as there; ſome came to kiſs my boot, others to kiſs my hands, and others to make me preſents of flowers; all which muſt be attributed not to the Engliſh of this city, (they every where preſerve the character of averſion for the French), but to the Walloons and Flemiſh, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at laſt almoſt entirely changed it, and at this day compoſe two thirds of its inhabitants. I viſited the church, and was preſent at the ſervice, wherein the muſic was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons underſtood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their careſſes and civilities. One of them ſhewed himſelf ſo well affected to France, as to give me an information of ſome conſequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërſens to Henry himſelf. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me, as one of my ſecretaries; and being informed that this was the ſon of his old friend, he came to ſee him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the ſecre-

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tary of Count d'Aremberg, ambaſſador from the Arch-duke, who had paſſed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his maſter was charged to repreſent to the King of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great deſigns againſt England, which would openly appear in leſs than two years; and, at the ſame time, to make offers to his Britannic Majeſty of powerful ſuccours from the King of Spain, with which he might prevent the deſigns that Henry meditated, by ſeizing certain provinces of France, on which the King of England had much juſter pretenſions than any Henry could have upon England.

Here my Lord Sidney came and complimented me from the King of England, and made me many obliging offers of ſervice. I knew that the perſon who had been charged with the ſame commiſſion to Count d'Aremberg, was my Lord Howard, whoſe rank was much ſuperior to Sidney's, being the Duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the Lord High Chamberlain, and member of the privy council. At firſt, therefore, I was apprehenſive that this deputation might be a mark of ſome contempt from the King of England; but, afterwards reflecting that the quality of the perſon who had received the ambaſſador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more eſpecially as I could not receive greater honours than thoſe which Sidney, and others by his direction, paid me. I nevertheleſs communicated my thoughts on this to Beaumont, deſiring him to get an explanation of it; but to do ſo with ſuch addreſs, that no cauſe might be given to perceive a miſunderſtanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be ſhewn. Beaumont applied to Sidney himſelf, and managed the affair with him ſo well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they ſhould ſend an

Earl

Earl of the privy council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The Earl of Southampton, one of the miniſters and confidents of King James, came to me from that Prince at Graveſend, accompanied by a numerous retinue of nobility and gentry. In our way to Graveſend we paſſed through Rocheſter, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the King of England's meſſengers on thoſe houſes where we were to be entertained and lodged if neceſſary.

At Graveſend I was received in the King of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of theſe I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone ſaluted us with upwards of three thouſand guns, beſides the diſcharges from ſeveral ſhip guns, and the muſquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I ſcarce ever heard a finer ſalute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the houſe of the Earl of Beaumont, which I had choſen for the day. The confluence of people was ſo great, that we could ſcarce open ourſelves a paſſage.

This very evening I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two Engliſh Lords who had been ſent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my Lord Southampton took me aſide, and having told me, that the King, who was at Windſor, a caſtle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earneſtly deſired, having firſt expreſſed to me his zeal, that I would impart ſomething to him which he might communicate to his Majeſty, no doubt with an intention to do himſelf honour by it, and gain

the favour of that Prince. After him my Lord Sidney came and made me the ſame requeſt, by ingeniouſly telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being firſt deputed to me, and the reſpect and attachment which he had for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, might merit my reſerving for him at leaſt ſome part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I ſhould not diſcloſe myſelf entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived theſe gentlemen had a mutual jealouſy of each other, and contended who ſhould be the firſt that would give the King any information. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to ſay, the former received only falſe, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little conſequence, and ſuch as I ſhould have been glad to ſee publiſhed.

They both made what uſe of them they thought proper. As to myſelf, I ſupped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and dined there the next day; for ſo ſhort a time had not been ſufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was deſtined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the fineſt, and from its great number of apartments upon the ſame floor, the moſt commodious in London: but this greatly embarraſſed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houſes and apartments were ſought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refuſed to receive us, on account of the miſbehaviour which they had but lately experienced in ſome of Marechal Biron's people; the greateſt part therefore had like to have been obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet.

It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that, if what I heard on this ſubject was true, Biron, by the exceſſes which he had ſuffered his whole retinue to commit,

had not ineffectually laboured to justify the animosity of the English nation against us. I am accustomed to speak my sentiments freely, and never more so than when they might be of use in correcting our manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor those licentious and even audacious manners with which we have, in all ages, been reproached. Unfortunately too they are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I was fully resolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority: and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner, as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour. But in these cases precepts are seldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportuity happened almost immediately.

I was the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situated in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with necessary lodgings. Some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town. At the same place they met with some English, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the English was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, instigated by the relations of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled and began loudly to threaten revenge upon the French, even in their lodgings. The affair soon began to appear of great consequence; for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an asylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice

notice of it; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the Marquis D'Oraiſon, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt; but, obſerving them come in at different times by three and four together, and with great emotion, I at laſt imagined ſomething extraordinary had happened, and, having queſtioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

The honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the intereſt of my negotiation, were the firſt objects that preſented themſelves to my mind. I was alſo moſt ſenſibly grieved, that my entry into London ſhould be marked at the beginning by ſo fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am perſuaded, my countenance plainly expreſſed the ſentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my firſt impulſe, I aroſe, took a flambeaux, and, ordering all that were in the houſe (which was about a hundred) to range themſelves round the walls, hoped, by this means, to diſcover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty by his agitation and fear. He was for denying it at firſt, but I ſoon obliged him to confeſs the truth. He was a young man, and the ſon of the Sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinſman likewiſe of Beaumont's, who entering that moment deſired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to ſave him. "I do not "wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the Engliſh and "you are at variance, if you are capable of preferring the intereſt of yourſelf and your relations, "to that of the King and the public. But the ſervice of the King my maſter, and the ſafety of ſo "many gentlemen of good families, ſhall not ſuffer "for ſuch an imprudent ſtrippling as this" I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut ſhould be beheaded in a few minutes. 'How, Sir," cried Beaumont, "behead a kinſman of mine, poſſeſſed

" of two hundred thouſand crowns, an only ſon; " it is but an ill recompence for the trouble he has " given himſelf and the expence he has been at to " accompany you." I again replied, in as poſitive a tone, " I had no occaſion for ſuch company:" and, to be ſhort, I deſired Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him preſent in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce ſentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council, I made choice only of the oldeſt and the wiſeſt of my retinue; and the affair being preſently determined, I ſend Arnaud to inform the Mayor of London of it, and to deſire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the criminal to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The Mayor returned me for anſwer, that his firſt care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him juſtice, and that he was juſt coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the ſentence. He moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either becauſe my ſeverity had diſarmed his, or, which ſeemed moſt probable, becauſe he had already ſuffered himſelf to be gained by preſents from the friends of the criminal. I ſent again to this magiſtrate to inform him, that as no ſuperior authority, nor reſpect for any perſon whatever, had determined me to pronounce this ſentence, I could not conſent to revoke it; that, by carrying it into execution, I ſhould juſtify the King my maſter, and give the Engliſh nation a convincing proof that I had done every thing upon the occaſion which my duty required; therefore, in ſuch an affair, I could only acquit myſelf of it by committing it to him, and by reſigning the priſoner to ſuch puniſhment as juſtice and the laws of England required. I accordingly ſent Combaut to him: ſo that the whole procedure became a particular affair between

between the Mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who, without much difficulty, obtained this magiſtrate's conſent to ſet Combaut at liberty; a favour which none could impute to me. On the contrary, I perceived both the French and Engliſh ſeemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended ſo well for Combaut; and the conſequence of this to me, with reſpect to the Engliſh and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

This removed at leaſt one obſtacle to the ſucceſs of my negotiation: but there ſtill remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the King, and from other particular perſons, according as their different intereſts might incline them to traverſe it. It is certain that the Engliſh hate us; and this hatred is ſo general and inveterate, that one would almoſt be tempted to number it among their natural diſpoſitions. It is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and inſolent, nor more conceited of its ſuperior excellence. Were they to be believed, underſtanding and common ſenſe are to be found only among them. They are obſtinately wedded to all their own opinions, and deſpiſe thoſe of every other nation, and to hear others, or ſuſpect themſelves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themſelves than to us, as from thence, they are at the mercy of all their caprices. Sometimes one would be induced to think, they have contracted all the inſtability of the element by which they are ſurrounded. With them all things muſt ſubmit to the reigning diſpoſitions; and the ſole difference between them and any the moſt inconſtant people in Europe, is, that their inconſtancy proceeds not from lightneſs, but from their vanity, which continually ſhews itſelf in a thouſand different ſhapes.

Their

Their self-love renders themselves slaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wisely performed, or firmly resolved, is at another time destroyed, without their knowing, or being able to give a reason. They are accordingly so undetermined in themselves, that frequently one would not take them for the same persons; and from hence they themselves sometimes appear surprised, on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

From this portrait, it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions. And this is true; but then it is only for the present moment: this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a King of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who might compell them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable: and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe *.

France, therefore, can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is, to render her own

* I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only say, that he has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time. One of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of sciences is, that those prejudices and partialities which were the cause of hatred and jealousy have hereby been dissipated.

interior

interior ſtate and condition ſuch as may make her not only entirely independent, but alſo able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her. And this, after all, would only be difficult to miniſters who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence; methods that ought never to be purſued without an abſolute neceſſity. But let the ſovereign ſhew himſelf a lover of peace, diſintereſted in what regards himſelf, and ſtrictly impartial with reſpect to others, he will then be certain to preſerve all his neighbours in that dependence which is only durable, becauſe it conciliates the affections inſtead of ſubjecting the perſons †.

I dare farther maintain, that peace is the great and common intereſt of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preſerving it between the greater powers, by all the moſt gentle and perſuaſive means; and the greater powers ſhould force the leſſer into it, if neceſſary, by aſſiſting the weak and oppreſſed. This is the only uſe they ought to make of their ſuperiority. When I conſider Europe as compoſed of ſuch civilized people, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed that ſhe ſtill continues to be governed by principles ſo narrow, and cuſtoms ſo barbarous. What is the conſequence of that profound policy of which ſhe is ſo vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the reſource in all places, and upon all occaſions: ſhe knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients: it is the ſole re-

† It is not ſurpriſing to hear ſuch reaſoning as this now we have acquired juſter notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at ſo great a degree of glory, that conqueſts can add nothing, or but very little, to it: but what opinion muſt we conceive of the views and penetration of the Duke of Sully, when we behold him eſtabliſhing principles, in appearance ſo improper for the ſtate of miſery and weakneſs in which the kingdom was at that time, or at leaſt from whence it was but juſt recovered? It is by ſuch true, ſolid, and wiſe maxims as theſe, that the Memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able miniſters have ſince drawn ineſtimable treaſures.

ſource of the moſt inconſiderable ſovereign, as well as of the greateſt potentate: the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with leſs noiſe, and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation, and frequently alone, that he may ſhew his grandeur, though in reality he only ſhews himſelf more ſignally deſpicable. Why muſt we always impoſe on ourſelves the neceſſity of paſſing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourſe is had to war only for want of a better expedient. Nevertheleſs, we have ſo effectually confounded this truth, that we ſeem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the Engliſh.

The court of London might be conſidered as compoſed of four ſorts of perſons, who formed ſo many different factions; and from this circumſtance only, one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of ſuſpicion, miſtruſt, jealouſy, private and even public diſcontents. I ſhall here advance nothing of the truth of which I was not well convinced, either by my own obſervations, or from the lights I received from the partiſans of France, from thoſe who called themſelves ſuch, from the diſcontented, and, in ſhort, from many other opportunities which occaſionally occurred. The firſt of theſe factions were the Scotch, at the head of which were the Earl of Mar, Lord Mountjoy, Erſkine, Kinloſs, and other gentlemen of the King's bedchamber. They were in the intereſt of France, and endeavoured to engage the King in their party, who ſeemed diſpoſed to ſuffer himſelf to be governed entirely. Some of them were tolerably ſkilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the buſineſs of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the Earl of Lennox in this number, becauſe, though he was equally well

inclined to France, he had nevertheleſs a party among the Scotch, which was ſeparate from that of the Earl of Mar, and even oppoſite to it; not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which ſhould have the advantage in the King's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had ſubdivided itſelf into two.

The ſecond, in all reſpects entirely oppoſite to the former, was the Spaniſh faction. In this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the Admiral of that name, the Lord High Chamberlain, the Maſter of the horſe, the Humes, and others of leſs note. The third was compoſed of a number of old Engliſh, who, conſidering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of theſe two nations, were attached to neither, and ſought to render Flanders independant of both, by reſtoring the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. The firſt movers of this faction were the Chancellor, the Lord High Treaſurer, and Cecil the ſecretary of ſtate, at leaſt as far as one could judge of a man who was all myſtery; for he ſeparated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it moſt advantageous to his own particular intereſt. He had borne the principal ſway in the late government, and he endeavoured, with the ſame ſubtilty, to acquire an equal ſhare in the preſent; his experience, joined to his addreſs, had already made him be conſidered by the King and Queen as a neceſſary man. Laſtly, there was a fourth faction, compoſed of ſuch as meddled in affairs, without having any connection with thoſe before mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themſelves, unleſs that they would not ſeparate or unite with any other. Their character was purely Engliſh. They breathed a ſpirit of ſedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it againſt the King himſelf. They had at their

heads the Earl of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

Nothing could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible to foretell which would at length obtain the ascendant, and gain the Prince to its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeeded better than others in gaining their master; the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure. But the King's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known, besides that his accession to such a crown as that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgement on this head extremely precarious.

All that I had to fear was, lest, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to those of the Northern powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy. They detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised, but would however have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jesuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it, provided they could also have separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon another.

King

King James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elisabeth had been. He had been informed, that Henry, in derision, had called him, *Captain of arts, and clerk of arms*. There was some reason to apprehend, that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the ancient pretences of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoke of him in terms not very respectful But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this Prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent, and had some erudition; though less of the latter, than of penetration and a disposition to learning. He loved to hear discourses on state affairs, and to be entertained with great designs, which he himself considered and disposed with a spirit of method and system; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himself. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted applications in his affairs; all which were signs of an easy and timid disposition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was further confirmed by his behaviour to the Queen his wife.

The character of this Princess was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the Catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a Princess destined to become their Queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak instruments in solid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The

King could not he ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist, nor personally to contradict her, though she made no scruple publicly to shew that she did not always conform to his sentiments. He came to London long before her: she was still in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wished she would not have departed from thence so soon, being persuaded that her presence would only be detrimental to affairs. He sent to acquaint her with his desire, and that with an air of authority, which costs nothing to assume against those who are absent; but she was very little affected by it.

Instead of obeying, the Queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having, of her own accord, and against the King's express desire, appointed herself a great chamberlain of her household. She was also attended by the Earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman, and brought with her the body of the male child of which she had been delivered in Scotland, because endeavours had been used to persuade the public, that his death was only feigned. She also brought with her the Prince, her eldest son, whom she in public affected to govern absolutely, and whom, it was said, she sought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that she was inclined to declare on that side. Nevertheless, the young prince gave her no room to be pleased with his deference for her. He naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this presage was so much the more, as from the assemblage of ambition, greatness and generosity, already perceivable in him, he promised one day to become one of these princes who are the subject of much conversation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the King of France, and he proposed making him his model; which was certainly very disagreeable to the Queen his mother, who, it is said, had resolved to destroy his French disposition,

diſpoſition, by having him ſent to be educated in Spain.

Thus I have given ſome account of the ſtate of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the reſt of the principal perſons who compoſed it, will more particularly appear in the enſuing part of theſe Memoirs. Here therefore I will only add, that beſides Count D'Aremberg from the Archdukes, Prince Henry of Naſſau, and the other deputies from the States-general, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambaſſador from his Catholic Majeſty, and the envoys from Sweden and Denmark, were alſo hourly expected, and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewiſe ſome others, but not of ſufficient conſequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the Princes of Europe conſidered the gaining England to their intereſts to be of the utmoſt importance to them.

The firſt of the foreign miniſters whom I ſaw at the court of London were thoſe of the Elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new King, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almoſt immediately after my arrival; but nothing particular paſſed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil ſent his principal ſecretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently ſee me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witneſſes of our converſation, Cecil talked to me only of the King of England's affection for the King of France, of the deſire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the ſame ſtrain, which could only be regarded as compliments: nevertheleſs, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to conſider what he had ſaid as very ſerious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of repreſenting to him,

him, how highly advantageous an union between the two Kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the ſervices each had received from the other.

This general introduction ſerved me at leaſt to form a judgement of the diſpoſition of the perſon who ſpoke to me; and, from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the deſign of which was, to convince me that his maſter ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it ſhould judge proper, in regard to its diſputes with Spain. He ſpoke of Oſtend as a place little worth the pains which had been taken to preſerve it; and of the commerce of the Indies as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low-countries ought to be deprived. I oppoſed theſe ſentiments; and though he ſeemed convinced by my arguments, he, nevertheleſs, appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the King his maſter. He changed the ſubject, by informing me, that his Majeſty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the ſolicitations which Count d'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his Majeſty could not have refuſed him, becauſe he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheleſs, he was not diſpoſed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to underſtand was not inconſiderable, he alſo added that of offering me my audience, which was a ſecond obligation, no leſs valuable than the former, as all ambaſſadors were uſually obliged to demand it of the King; neither was it his fault, if I did not alſo regard the depution of ſuch a man as him as a particular mark of reſpect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I deſired he would give himſelf the trouble to teſtify my gratitude for it to the King.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all the pains this ſecretary had taken to perſuade me, that no one, after the King, had ſo much power as himſelf, and that he even governed in the councils of the Prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewiſe imagined, that, fearing leſt ſome of his competitors ſhould deprive, him of any of his important employments, he had ſolicited, and perhaps with great affiduity, from the King his maſter the office of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himſelf degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States-General, who entered juſt as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the ſame opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumſtance, no more than the obſervation which they had made, that ſince James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindneſs, having before then refuſed both to ſee or ſpeak to the Prince of Naſſau, and even publicly given the ſtates the epithet of *ſeditious rebels*. Theſe deputies began to perſuade me, that the King of France ought not only to inſpire the King of England with more favourable ſentiments in regard to them, but ſhould openly declare himſelf their defender. They had much more to ſay on this head; but it was late, and ſupper was on the tables: I therefore diſmiſſed them, with general aſſurances that they ſhould be ſatisfied.

I gave then a more poſitive anſwer to Barnevelt their principal, when he came to ſee me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in poſſeſſion. Barnevelt, like his collegues, began by magnifying the miſery to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at ſince the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhauſted condition. He ſaid the States could no longer keep Oſtend, nor reſiſt the Spaniards, unleſs the King of France cauſed a powerful army to march without delay,

delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the Archduke, enter Flanders from the land ſide, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Oſtend, having proved, they ſaid, by experience, that the Spaniards could eaſily deſtroy, one after the other, all the little ſuccours that were ſent them by ſea, and that immediately on their landing After all theſe complaints, he concluded, as his colleagues had done, that Henry ought to declare himſelf protector, and enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with them.

I told Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he muſt renounce any ſuch hopes; for that Henry was not at all diſpoſed, through complaiſance for them, to draw upon himſelf the whole power of Spain, nor alone to ſupport the burden of a war, in which, ſuppoſing the King of Engand ſhould refuſe to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reaſon, I told him, as was really the caſe, that I could neither take any reſolution, nor ſay any thing poſitive to them, till I had at leaſt ſounded the diſpoſitions of this prince with regard to them. Barnevelt having been at London for a conſiderable time, might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have acquired ſome knowledge of the King, I therefore aſked him what diſcoveries he had made? He replied, that this Prince having from the firſt been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counſellors, and his own paſſive diſpoſition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but having apparently reflected, that this peace would coſt England dear, if, by his inaction, the Flemiſh ſhould return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or ſhould be obliged, in order to free themſelves from it, to accept that of France; and having, perhaps, been made ſenſible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to juſtice, attempted whatever ſeemed for its conve-

niency, when all other objects became insufficient to satisy his unbounded desire; these considrations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

What Barnevelt said would have dissipated part of my fears, had the King of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend. But in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation, or, at least, irresolution; for those of his ministers, whom I had reason to believe were best acquainted with the secrets of the councils, upon every occasion constantly said, that all endeavours to inspire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the situation of their island protecting them against the enterprises of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwise, or have deferred taking measures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his resolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed such a mistake. In consequence of this opininion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the interest of his country, not to conceal from me any of the most secret resolutions which had been there taken, upon a supposition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that she would endeavour to augment their distress, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elisabeth.

Barnevelt finding himself pressed, and considering me as the confident of a Prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer hesitated to

diſcover all to me. And after having intimated the merit of ſo important a ſecret, he informed me, that the council of the united province had reſolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Eliſabeth would furniſh them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in caſe they found themſelves too cloſely preſſed by the Engliſh and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunſwic and Vandrelep, offering Oſtend to be ſequeſtrated, till the concluſion of the treaty: that during this interval, ſome event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at leaſt for the preſent, a ſtop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain againſt Oſtend.

In order to underſtand what is here ſaid of the treaties with Eliſabeth and Spain, it is neceſſary to know, that the late Queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns *, as a ſecurity for the money which ſhe had lent them, with this gracious clauſe in their favour, That they ſhould not give her the poſſeſſion of them, uleſs they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her conſent. As to the other treaty it was propoſed, in the height of the hoſtilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the conteſted countries under the power of the houſe of Auſtria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which poſſeſſed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or which is moſt probable, both, were the cauſe of it, the treaty that was begun by the Duke of Brunſwich, and Count Vandrelep, came to nothing. The former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain ſtill preſerved, or had regained in Flanders, ſhould be comprehended in the treaty; becauſe, ſaid they, they riſked

* Fleſſingue and Brille.

too

too much by being so near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might easily regain possession of what she appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of separating so brilliant a gem from her crown.

In the afternoon of this day I was visited by the resident from Venice, who was the secretary of that republic. He was as free and unreserved in his discourse with me as Barnevelt had been; for his state was in the same situation of jealousy and complaints against Spain, and of union with France. He further confirmed to me what I had before strongly suspected, of the irresolution of James. He told me, that this prince, who so often and so loudly repeated the high sounding words, *the policy of Europe*, did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less; and that his dissimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when King of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, with whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted; all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

These reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the Duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new King, whom, by the envoys from the Elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour. But James stopped them by saying, that it did not become a great Prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know

not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that ſcheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Pleſſis, and himſelf, and had bore in their opinions ſo favourable an aſpect. This ſcheme was to make the King of England protector of the Calviniſt party in France, and the Elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Engliſhman named Williams, who had entered into his ſervice after having quitted that of his Majeſty, to whom he had been huntſman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the name of Francis le Blanc. D'Entragues's agent was named Du-Panni. He was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correſpondence was with the Duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all theſe particulars in his letters, and having by his order made inquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others; for had he appeared at London, he would ſoon have been diſcovered to be a man of many words and but little underſtanding. The teſtimony which I on all occaſions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

The ſame day alſo Count d'Aremberg ſent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excuſing his not coming himſelf, as cuſtom did not permit ſuch viſits till after he had received his firſt audience of the King. All that paſſed between me and this nobleman conſiſted in compliments, offers of ſervice, and aſſurances of peace and friendſhip, in all which nothing was wanting but ſincerity.

The King of England, who had before acquainted me, that he would grant me an audience on the 22d, which was Sunday, ſent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to deſire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was alſo added the preſent of half a buck, which, as this

this Prince informed me by the bearer, was the firſt he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chace: the reaſon was, there was none in Scotland *. From hence he took occaſion to make Henry a compliment, by ſaying, that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the King of Hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their Majeſties was to me a preſage of their perſonal union, unleſs a jealouſy of the chace ſhould prevent it: that, in this caſe, I would take the liberty to offer myſelf as arbiter between their Majeſties, being ſo diſintereſted and indifferent in this article, that when the King my maſter made a party for the chace, he was ſo far from thinking, like the King of England, that my preſence would contribute to its ſucceſs, that he generally ſent me to purſue other affairs in my cloſet, where, he ſaid, I was more lucky. Though there was nothing ſerious in all this, I was nevertheleſs glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to inſinuate myſelf into his Britannic Majeſty's favour; and with this view, I turned my compliment in ſuch a manner as might pleaſe the ſelf complacency of James, who I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any compariſon with the King of France. I returned the compliment which Count D'Aremberg had paid me, and at the ſame time, ſent him half my preſent.

One part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue ſhould appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the firſt part of my commiſſion, which conſiſted in complimenting the new King on the death of Eliſabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambaſſador, foreigner,

* The author muſt be miſtaken in ſaying there was no deer in Scotland at this period.

or

or Engliſh, was admitted into the preſence of the new King in black; and Beaumont had ſince repreſented to me, that what I intended would moſt certainly be highly diſagreeable to the court, where ſo ſtrong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princeſs, that ſhe was never ſpoke of, and even the mention of her name induſtriouſly avoided.

I ſhould have been very glad not to have been ſenſible of the neceſſity I was laid under of appearing in a garb which would ſeem to caſt a reproach on the King and all England. But my orders hereupon were poſitive, not to mention that they were almoſt laudable; and this was the reaſon I paid no regard to Baumont's repreſentations, who intreated me to defer putting myſelf to this trouble, and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erſkine and ſome others, who were beſt acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no anſwer on Thurſday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I ſtill perſiſted in my reſolution, notwithſtanding the reaſons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and ſo late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erſkine had ſent to acquaint him, that the whole court conſidered my intentions as a premeditated affront, and that I had ſo offended the King by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the ſucceſs of my negotiation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with thoſe of my Lord Sidney, the Viſcount de Saraot, La Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impoſſible for me to be in doubt about it: and, leſt a greater evil ſhould enſue, I cauſed all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themſelves others as well as they could. Lewkner coming the next morning to inform me, that I ſhould be preſented to the King at three o'

clock

clock in the afternoon. I perceived, from the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed at the new orders I had given, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to vanquiſh my repugnance Nevertheleſs, it gained me almoſt as much honour with the public as if I had perſiſted in my intention; becauſe it was generally known, that neceſſity was the ſole motive of my compliance.

BOOK XV.

THE King of England's guards, commanded by the Earl of Derby, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and eſcorted me to the Thames, whoſe banks they lined whilſt I went down to Greenwich This paſſage I made in the King's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, ſelected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the Earl of Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the King's palace.

I was carried into a chamber, where we were preſented with a collation, though contrary to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in England, never to treat ambaſſadors, nor even to offer them a glaſs of water. His Majeſty having ſent to deſire my appearance in his preſence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occaſioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and becauſe I made all my retinue walk before me. The prince no ſooner perceived me than he deſcended two ſteps, and would have deſcended them all, ſo very deſirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his miniſters, who

ſtood

ſtood next him, whiſpered ſoftly in his ear, that he ought to go no further. "If, ſaid he aloud, I "ſhew this ambaſſador particular marks of honour, "and ſuch as are contrary to cuſtom, I mean not "thereby to give a precedent to others: I particu- "larly love and eſteem him for the affection which "I know he has for me, for his firmneſs in our "religion, and his fidelity to his maſter." I dare not repeat all that he ſaid further to my advantage. I received ſo obliging a favour with all due reſpect; and replied, not by an harangue, ſuch as ſome may, perhaps, expect to ſee here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleaſed; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more ſuitable to my ſituation. Henry's affliction for the death of Eliſabeth, his joy for the acceſſion of James to the throne of England, the praiſes of the two kings; all theſe I compriſed in very few words. I excuſed myſelf from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's having himſelf explained his ſentiments in his letters, which I at the ſame time preſented, diſtinguiſhing to his Britannic Majeſty that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himſelf, and then gave them to Cecil; expreſſing, at the ſame time, how ſenſible he was of their contents, by theſe words: "That he had "not left in Scotland the ardor with which he had "always loved the King of France, and deſired the "proſperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his Majeſty, though in the ſtyle of common converſation; for that of haranguing was extremely diſagreeable to me. I ſaid that Henry had given public demonſtrations of his joy, on ſeeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was ſo worthy of it, and for his having been ſo readily and univerſally acknowledged; that if there had been occaſion for the preſence of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, he would have given proofs of his ſincere

attachment to his intereſts, and union with his perſon, and have come with pleaſure to any place where his preſence might have been neceſſary. I did not repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the Engliſh at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheleſs, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himſelf, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always commendable," ſaid he, "to overcome evil with "good." But that he had the double ſatisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendſhip with France, for another that was not leſs ſo. The late Queen was mentioned on this occaſion, but without one word in her praiſe.

After this, his Majeſty being deſirous to diſcourſe longer and more familiarly with me, he made me aſcend all the ſteps leading to the throne. I took this occaſion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of ſincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the diſcourſes attributed to Henry, to me and to my brother, after his return from Scotland. He confeſſed that he had for ſome time believed them, but that he had at laſt diſcovered the whole to be only an artifice of their common enemies, who, by uſing ſuch means, to open themſelves a paſſage to univerſal monarchy, had rendered themſelves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very ſevere terms againſt the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleaſure to Naſſau, who was near enough to hear ſomething of what was ſaid; and alſo to the Flemiſh deputies, who were preſent, though incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He ſpoke with the greateſt abhorrence of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war among their neighbours; proteſted, that he would oppoſe their unjuſt deſigns; and talked of the King of Spain as a man too weak both in body

and mind to think of the great chimera's of his predeceſſors. The pleaſure which I received from this diſcourſe was ſufficient to make me deſirous of continuing it. I told the King of England, that he was extremely happy in being ſo well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not ſo with the King of France. To prove this, I inſtanced what they had done ſince the concluſion of ſo ſolemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and ſome other grievances. I added, that ſuch was the artifice of the Spaniſh councils, that to delude Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining firſt. This conduct was equally dangerous and deteſtable with that which they uſually practiſed, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that ſecurity which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the reſentment which he ſhewed againſt Spain, before ſo many witneſſes, was as ſincere as it was violent. From this moment the firſt dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The King of England changed this ſubject to that of hunting, for which he diſcovered an extravagant paſſion. He ſaid, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late ſucceſs of this ſport to me, not as Marquis of Roſny, but as ambaſſador from a King who was not only the greateſt prince, but the greateſt hunter in the world; and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, becauſe I was of greater ſervice to him elſe where; and that if I purſued the chace, the King of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exerciſes, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a cloſe inſpection into the proceedings of his miniſters; being far from that blind credulity which the

the King of Spain had for the Duke of Lerma. Hereupon James ſaid, that, without doubt, I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and reſiſt the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced ſome inſtances, which I had quite forgot. He then ſuddenly aſked me, as it were interrupting himſelf, How the King of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this queſtion was aſked, that endeavours had been uſed to perſuade this prince, that Henry, ſince his late indiſpoſition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the moſt powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependence upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all theſe falſe reports, and ſucceeded. But he further ſaid, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely ſorry; and this was, that his phyſicians had forbid him the chace. To this I replied, that ſuch advices was, perhaps, what he himſelf would do well to purſue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly eſcaped breaking his arm at the chace, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

When I acquainted Henry with this part of our converſation, he, in his anſwer, ordered me to tell the King of England, that, in purſuance to the advice of his phyſicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he uſed to be, and that ſince my departure he had been at the death of five or ſix ſtags without the leaſt inconvenience. "Well," ſaid the King of England to me, ſtill continuing the ſame ſubject, "I underſtand you have ſent part of the "produce of my ſport to Count d'Aremberg; and "how do you think he received it? I aſſure you, "it was not at all agreeable to him. He ſays, you "ſent it only to ſhew that you was more regarded "than he; and he is in the right, for I will ſurely

" make some difference between my good brother " the King of France and his masters, who have " sent me an ambassador who can neither walk nor " talk; he demanded an audience of me in a gar- " den, because he could not walk up stairs into a " room." James then asked me, whether the Spanish ambassador, who had been sent to him, had passed through France? and upon my replying that he had, " Spain," said he, " sends me an ambassa- " dor post, that he may arrive the sooner, and " finish our affairs in post haste." Thus, upon every occasion, he inveighed against the Spaniards. Taxis, courier-major to his Catholic Majesty, had, in effect, taken his rout through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no further than merely to discover the intentions of the King of England. The real ambassador was Valasco, Constable of Castile, who soon followed him.

After all this, James asked me, (for he did not dwell long upon one subject), whether I went to the Protestant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: " Then," said he, " you are not resolved, " as I have been informed, to quit our religion, af- " ter the example of Sancy, who thought by that " condescension to make his fortune: but, by God's " providence, did just the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and said, that my living in France in Friendship with so many ecclesiastics, and being so frequently visited by the Pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given rise to it. " Do you give " the Pope the title of Holiness?" said James. I replied, " That, to conform to the custom establish- " ed in France, I did." He was then for proving to me, that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, then by the frequent giving to princes

princes ſuch titles as they were well known not to deſerve. He ſpoke to me of Du-Pleſſis, and appeared ſomewhat concerned for his fortune and preſent condition. He ſaid, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publiſh his laſt book under his own name; becauſe, by the titles which he therein gave himſelf, he obliged the King of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the ſervices which he had done to the Proteſtant religion. He ſaid not a word to me, either of Holland or the Duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chaſtiſement of the Duke of Savoy, who was, he ſaid, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I think I have omitted nothing of any conſequence of what was ſaid to me by the King of England, in this my firſt audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, ſaying, it would be time for me to go to ſupper, and to my repoſe. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accoſted by Admiral Howard, Lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the Lord High Chamberlain. Erſkine, in conducting me croſs the court of the palace, ſpoke to me of his attachment to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his deſire of being ranked amongſt the number of my friends. The Earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, ſaid pretty near the ſame to me. No one amongſt the Engliſh lords has more underſtanding, capacity, courage, nor poſſeſſed more authority than he. He manifeſted a great deſire to have a private converſation with me upon the preſent ſtate of affairs. I gathered from what he ſaid, though he did not ſpeak in plain terms, that he was not ſatisfied with the government; that he blamed the greateſt part of the King's actions; in ſhort, to ſay it in a word, that he had no great

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ſhare either of fidelity or eſteem for James. It is not neceſſary to ſay, with what reſerve and circumſpection I liſtened to ſuch diſcourſe.

The open declaration which the King of England had made againſt Spain, had given me ſome hopes, that the court of London would be inſenſibly prejudiſed againſt that court. In the interval between my firſt and ſecond audience, ſeveral things happened which increaſed theſe hopes. An Engliſh Catholic, who was likewiſe a Jeſuit, (as was at firſt reported), was ſeized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being queſtioned, he confeſſed that he had diſguiſed himſelf in this manner, to deliver the Catholic church from the oppreſſion of the new King of England, unleſs he re-eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion in his dominions ſolely, or, at leaſt, with privileges equal to thoſe enjoyed by the Proteſtants; and unleſs he likewiſe declared himſelf againſt the Proteſtants of Holland; that eight other Jeſuits had conſpired with him in this deſign, and that they had actually diſperſed themſelves in different parts of London, in order to embrace any opportunity that might offer to deſtroy this Prince. But the report was falſe, in regard to the perſon of this ſuſpected Engliſhman, for he was not a Jeſuit *, but only a ſeminary prieſt. Had the truth of all the other circumſtances been equally well diſcovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almoſt to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reaſon Count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indiſpoſition, which was diſſembled, and that he only waited till the ſuppoſed conſpirators had accompliſhed their deſign, or at leaſt till

* M. de Thou, no more than M. de Sully, charges the Jeſuits with having any concern in this conſpiracy, which is the ſame that will be mentioned below.

by

by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a revolution, which would have releaſed him from his obligations to wait on the King at court.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous ſuſpicion was carried The Queen was at the ſame time coming to London. This, ſaid they, was to favour the Spaniſh faction, which ſo diſturbed James, that he immediately ſent the Earl of Lennox expreſsly to forbid that Princeſs to continue her journey. But whether the Earl could not, or whether he rather choſe not to ſucceed in his commiſſion, the Queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the King remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his miniſters, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to ſhew themſelves greatly diſguſted both with the Queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Eliſabeth, who had lived in a perpetual miſtruſt of the court of Madrid; and now they laviſhed upon her thoſe praiſes of which they had been before ſo ſparing, and ſeemed diſpleaſed with themſelves at the indifference they had ſhewn to her memory: nor muſt I forget that it was not without doing violence to myſelf, that I refrained following ſuch a general example.

I believe the Spaniſh faction all this time was in no little pain. For inſtead of talking as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it ſaid, that ſo far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendſhip and alliance, it was not even ſafe to contract with her; that the ambaſſador of this court had not dared to preſent himſelf in London, and that moſt certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic Majeſty was compared with that

that of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Henry's procedure appeared ſo open and ingenuous, and ſo far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it. He, ſaid they, would never have ſent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom was moſt neceſſary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both; nor would I myſelf, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of thoſe characters whoſe concluſion is generally that of beholding one's ſelf at once both diſhonoured and ſacrificed to the public indignation. In ſhort, if an union between the two crowns, which I propoſed, was not in all reſpects the beſt conduct that they could purſue, it was at leaſt the ſafeſt; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings ſhould conſider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they ſometimes reaſoned in the council, and in the preſence of the King of England, very much to the ſatisfaction of thoſe counſellors who were in our intereſts, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the Prince to their party. My Lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almoſt public profeſſion which he made of attachment to France, here uſed his utmoſt intereſt and endeavours.

But all this only diſſipated part of my fears; I perceived ſo many other obſtacles, that they almoſt entirely diſcouraged me; what I might expect from the Queen only ſcarce appeared ſurmountable. My apprehenſions from Secretary Cecil, were but little inferior to thoſe from the Queen He was at this time ſeparated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this ſeparation; for I was ſtrongly perſuaded of the inſincerity of this ſubtle miniſter's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might

be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the Engliſh, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but theſe Scotch lords were ſo difficult to manage, and ſo much upon their guard againſt the Engliſh, that he could not but be baffled notwithſtanding all his efforts; and he was himſelf too penetrating not to be perfectly ſenſible of it. Accordingly it was ſaid (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this miniſter I was myſelf of the ſame opinion) that he had ſought the Scots, who were real confidents and favourites of his Majeſty, only to make himſelf known, and render himſelf neceſſary to this Prince; that having ſucceeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himſelf, and, making uſe of the King's name and authority, would ſilence the Queen, the Engliſh, and even the Scots themſelves, or at leaſt would leave to thoſe he ſhould judge proper only ſome faint ſhadow of favour and would then reaſſume his real character. And what is moſt remarkable, it was not unlikely that this ſubtile man was himſelf the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be ſuch to him. For is it poſſible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the moſt ambitious and moſt tenacious of power of all men, ſhould remain unknown only to them? But no doubt they all knew that the Prince's ear was not alone ſufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the leaſt acquainted, and of which the Secretary only could give them the beſt information.

Suppoſing alſo that the Scottiſh party was undoubtedly firm in the intereſts of France, there ſtill remained a material doubt, whether ſo haughty a people as the Engliſh would ſubmit to be governed by foreigners, and more eſpecially by the Scotch, who at all times had been the object of their averſion. And beſides, it was far from being certain that the Scotch would always continue to poſſeſs the

King's favour. For the regard which he already began to ſhow to the Earl of Eſſex, Southampton, and my Lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might eaſily loſe their influence. Laſtly, to increaſe this unpromiſing aſpect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whoſe repreſentations might have been of great weight in determining this Prince, and who had hitherto been ſo unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his deſigns, now either did it not at all, or did it with ſuch indifference, that their example was far from inſpiring a proper reſolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambaſſadors, in preſence of the Earl of Mar, Lord Mountjoy, and Erſkine, who was preſent three times, as being a common friend, they made me the faireſt ſpeeches imaginable; their averſion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded ſo far as to draw up a kind of ſcheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the diviſion of conqueſts, which they agreed might eaſily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promiſes, and ſaw nothing but obſtacles, in regard to which in my preſence they had kept a profound ſilence. A ſtrange behaviour this! from whence, however, I diſcovered, in ſome meaſure, with what ſort of men I had to deal.

My Lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been preſent at a meeting of theſe ambaſſadors, wherein only thoſe of his Majeſty's council and the States deputies were admitted; that here, inſtead of labouring mutually to ſtrengthen themſelves in laudable reſolutions, each of them had only fought to extricate himſelf out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Daniſh deputy repreſented, that indeed his maſter poſſeſſed a great extent of territory, but for the

the moſt part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its ſituation, rather expenſive than profitable; that the ſubmiſſion and tractableneſs of the people was an advantage of no uſe to the King his maſter; becauſe, from the prodigious variation of their manners and cuſtoms, he could neither underſtand them, nor could they underſtand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to eſtabliſh a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterpriſe. The Swede ſaid, it would be highly imprudent for his maſter to engage in a foreign war; becauſe his nephew the King of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretenſions to the crown of Sweden, but, on the contrary, ſeemed diſpoſed to renew them with more vigour than ever; ſo that the preſervation of his own dominions might probably find him ſufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the reſt of his brethren, explained himſelf in a manner ſo different from his uſual complaints, that, I confeſs, I am at a loſs to conceive what could be the intention of ſo ſtrange a procedure. He ſpoke of Spain only with contempt. In the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the States, he found reſources ſufficient to preſerve them from all oppreſſion. He ſeemed no longer to deſpair of the ſucceſs of Oſtend as formerly, and intimated that his maſters had conceived a deſign which would do more than indemnify them for that loſs, ſuppoſing it ſhould happen. The Engliſh miniſters, taking their text from a ſaying of the King of England, That every new King, if he had the ſmalleſt degree of good conduct, ought at leaſt to let a year and a day paſs before he made any innovation, though of the ſmalleſt conſequence, concluded unanimouſly, that it would be moſt prudent to wait; and they remained firm to this determination. If we conſider theſe

Northern geniuſes * with ſome little attention, we ſhall perceive they conſtantly preſerve ſome affinity with the nature of their climate. They have but little vigour of thought, few reſources in their imagination, little conſtancy in their reſolutions, and not the leaſt tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is ſo much the more glorious to that great Queen.

I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spaniſh councils, as I was with thoſe of Britain and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real deſigns of that crown, what propoſitions ſhe had already made to the King of England, how they had been received, and finally what ſteps ſhe intended to take for the accompliſhment of her deſires; for barely to underſtand that the King of Spain ſought to detach England from France and the Low countries, was knowing nothing, or at moſt but very little. It was ſuſpected that Spain meditated ſomething of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared ſo much the leſs to be neglected, becauſe Aërſens and Barnevelt both at the ſame time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore uſed my utmoſt endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information. But what made the greateſt impreſſion upon me, was, that the Earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a conſiderable penſion, under the name of a preſent with great ſecrecy one night when I was going to bed, ſent his ſecretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

* The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done juſtice to the wiſdom and policy of ſome of the northern powers.

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From the moment King James aſcended the throne of England, ſaid this ſecretary, the King of Spain has not ceaſed to ſolicit him either by his own agents, or thoſe of the Archduke, or by the Engliſh Catholics, to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him, againſt France and the United-Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might perſuade him that both of them, but more eſpecially that his Britannic Majeſty, had a title ſo clear and inconteſtible to ſeveral provinces in France, that it would be ſhameful in him not to make uſe of it, at a time when the exhauſted condition of that kingdom preſented ſo fair an opportunity. The means propoſed by Spain to ſecure the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, were, that James and his Catholic Majeſty ſhould, at the ſame time, demand of France the reſtitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the King of England; Britanny and Burgundy for the King of Spain; and, upon a refuſal, to fall upon theſe provinces with all their united forces. His Catholic Majeſty for this purpoſe, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries; moreover to renounce all his pretenſions upon the United Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they ſo ardently deſire; upon a ſuppoſition, however, that, in conſideration of this favour, they would conſent to ſtrengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their deſigns. The King of England having made no anſwer to all theſe great offers, farther than by ſaying, that they were premature, and that he choſe to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new ſubjects, and by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne. Spain eaſily perceived, that this reply was a civil refuſal. And James not being diſpoſed by open force to attempt the recovery of his ancient poſſeſſions, Spain then turned her endeavours to perſuade this prince, at leaſt to favour the French provinces in their

their design (of which she informed him) to erect themselves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been represented to James to be extremely easy to effect. It has been said, these provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to shake off their insupportable yoke. The Spanish emissaries, seconding these dispositions, have every where reported, that it only depended on themselves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquillity without taxes, subsidies, or military garrisons, under the protection of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cause to apprehend either the resentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops; because care would be taken at the same time to involve him in so many other perplexities, that he would be under a necessity of suffering them to prescribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the secretary of the Earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this second proposal. We conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, because the Spanish emissaries, in their conferences with his Britannic Majesty, have several times been obliged to change their system, or successively to repeat the same again with different modifications. Some times they have offered him the whole force and all the treasures of Spain, to use them against France in whatever manner he should judge proper without requiring any thing more in return, than that he should conclude no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders. At other times, they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the united provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from King James would have drawn upon her a most

moſt terrible ſtorm. But for my own part, I confeſs, that to me this appears ſo extravagant, and ſo much beyond the bounds of probability, that from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of propoſing to King James any thing like the firſt propoſals which are here related. Suppoſing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconſiderable diſcuſſion, yet had they well conſidered how many other difficulties would ariſe from a difference of religions, intereſts, manners, and cuſtoms, both between themſelves and with the French provinces which they ſuppoſed in concert with them, that article which concerns the United Provinces, alone deſtroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to ſubject them, this crown, and that of England, could not be ignorant that ſuch an enterpriſe was alone capable to deſtroy, or, at leaſt, for a conſiderable time, to prevent the execution of their common deſigns; becauſe France, being once convinced that her own ſafety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conqueſt, would have conſidered aſſiſting the States as defending herſelf. And if Spain propoſed to gain theſe provinces in her intereſts, ſhe would herein have been more groſsly deceived; for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their moſt mortal enemy, much leſs to incline them to aſſiſt her in her conqueſts, and that too againſt their ancient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought. They upon all occaſions have conſtantly ſaid that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably diſpoſed towards them. And if ſometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference above mentioned, it was either

ther to excite the French to make ſtill greater efforts in their favour, or to inſpire the Engliſh with the ſentiments of France in regard to them. Beſides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquiſh territories, of which ſhe had got poſſeſſion?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërſens muſt be conſidered only as one, becauſe the former received his information from the latter, could be ſufficiently depended upon. The firſt might have been deceived, and the ſecond might have ſought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the ſucceſs of their affairs. In regard to the three Engliſh Lords, I was ſo far from depending upon what they ſaid, that, on the contrary, I ſuſpected they were themſelves the ſole authors of the whole ſcheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, preſented it to the King of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as perſons of conſequence; which was quite ſuitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but ſhe would be pleaſed to hear ſuch reports ſpread, and even that ſhe would gladly uſe her endeavours to make them believed, not with any intention ſeriouſly to confer with his Britannic Majeſty concerning them, nor even that they ſhould come to his ears, but only with deſign to increaſe the diſcord, and augment the number of the ſeditious in thoſe provinces of France which were intereſted therein. It was in theſe terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who ſometimes conſidered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and ſometimes believed it true in regard to Spain, who, from a deſire to deſtroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I

told Henry, that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, the Limosin, Pays d'Aunis, in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

The day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his British Majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it being Wednesday the 25th; that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniencies caused by great numbers, and, said he, that I may confer with you alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by my Lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of seeing and discoursing with his Most Christian Majesty I took some refreshment in the apartment into which I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the King. And here I was accosted by little Edmonds *, who made me a long speech, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved. The Earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the King's apartment.

Immediately upon my entrance this Prince arose; and having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his Majesty for

* Edmonds had been agent, and afterwards ambassador from Elisabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him on the subject of my commission, without reserve and without witnesses: "Not," said I, "that the King my master has sent me to require "any thing of your Majesty, but only to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs "wherein your Majesties may both be equally concerned, and that the King my master may conform to them, as a good brother." The king of England replied, That the manner in which he plainly saw the King of France and I acted with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in which" said he "it "is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between "three of its powers," meaning the houses of "Bourbon, Austria, and Stewart. He said, that of these three powers, the house of Austria in Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour. That a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the King of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her. That Spain was not ignorant of it; but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry, by her combination with Marechal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had given the Duke of Savoy, when at war with his Most Christian Majesty, by the enterprise upon Geneva, finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the Jesuits and the English Catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the Jesuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war; and, as they were

were upon equal terms, it would therefore be beſt to avoid it, by continuing, as before, ſecretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a reſolution to purſue more vigorous and effectual meaſures, in caſe Spain ſhould herſelf reſolve upon any open rupture.

I very highly applauded ſuch laudable ſentiments, and indeed they really deſerved it. Nor could I have ſaid any thing further on the ſubject, had I not, at the ſame time, perceived in the perſon from whom they came a diſpoſition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and ſeemed to tell me, that, having promiſed a little, he would perform nothing. This obſervation induced me to tell his Britannic Majeſty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be purſued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the ſentiments of his Chriſtian Majeſty; and that Henry only feared it would be inſufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the reſentment of that crown, whoſe character, upon this occaſion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the moſt natural colours. I repreſented to James every thing that Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years paſt; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the ſtates of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England alſo, both theſe crowns owing their preſervation, next to the firmneſs of Eliſabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indiſpenſably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to ſap the foundation of ſo vaſt a dominion, it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary now to concert the proper meaſures for it, that no ſtep might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means

whereby the preſervation of the United Provinces might be proviſionally ſecured, was all that I had to deſire of his Majeſty. "But," ſaid the King of England, "what better aſſiſtance would you that "the King of France and I ſhould give the Low "Countries, than to comprehend them with us in "a general treaty of partition and pacification be-"tween them and Spain, upon conditions of which "we ourſelves ſhall be guarantees? whereby ſhould "Spain firſt fail in the obſervation of them, we "ſhall then have juſt reaſon to take arms againſt "her, and drive her entirely out of theſe provinces. "And I conſent," added he, "upon a ſuppoſition "that this will be the caſe, immediately to deter-"mine with you, what means and what forces we "ſhall employ for the execution of it." James was not ſenſible of all the objections to this partition treaty, which he propoſed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear ſatisfied with what he propoſed; but during the delays which negotiating this treaty would produce, eſpecially with a court whoſe dilatorineſs was one of the chief arts of her policy, Oſtend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being ſeparated from it; and Spain would, in the mean time, ſtrengthen herſelf in what ſhe did poſſeſs, and would be preparing the means for ſucceeding more effectually in her deſign of ſubjecting the reſt of this ſtate.

I deſired his Britannic Majeſty to beſtow ſome ſerious reflection upon the conſiderations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for ſome time in ſilence, and ſeemed deeply immerſed in thought; after which, in a heſitating and irreſolute voice, he ſaid, that it muſt be confeſſed I was in

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the right; that the affair was of great conſequence; that he had often thought of it, though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his reſolution. At this moment, I penetrated into all that this prince refuſed to tell me; and I thought I ought without heſitation to attack him in his inmoſt receſſes. I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words; and ſaid, that as often as this affair had been debated in his Majeſty's council, and as often as he had heard his miniſters utter ſentiments different from mine, his Majeſty might eaſily have been convinced, that they did it only from ſome motives of ſelf-intereſt, becauſe there was not the leaſt room for doubt. That one ſingle examination would demonſtrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to prevent the reſt of the Low Countries from falling under the dominion of Spain, becauſe, were ſhe to ſucceed in this, ſhe might, with the ſame forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occaſion, without expoſing theſe Engliſh counſellors ſo much as I could, by a diſcovery of part of their intrigues, I ſo far acquainted the King of England with them, as to make him ſenſible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn thoſe forces againſt France which I wanted to perſuade him to employ againſt Spain.

James entered of himſelf into the ſentiments with which I wanted to inſpire him with reſpect to his council. He told me, that he was very far from being of the ſame opinion with ſome of his courtiers, in what concerned the ancient pretenſions of England upon France; and beſides that the preſent conjuncture, and political ſtate of affairs, did not permit him to think ſeriouſly about them, he alſo conſidered theſe pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irreſiſtibly gives and takes away

away crowns; and by time, whose prescription was more than *centenary*; which words he repeated several times. That this consideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previously assure me, that whatever his final resolution might be, at least he would not suffer the United Provinces, nor even Ostend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards. That for the present, I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor press him to a conclusion, till he had first conferred with two or three of his ministers, of whose knowledge, as well as honesty, he was well convinced. That besides, from the reflections which I had suggested to him, he was now able to distinguish and resist the voice of passion and prejudice. And, lastly, that he would in a short time acquaint me with what might be farther necessary for me to know, in regard to his sentiments and final resolution.

I should be very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head so soon; but James broke it off, by saying, that he should finish the remainder of it another time, because he wanted now to have some conversation with me concerning the Duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the Elector Palatine had strongly solicited him in favour of the Duke; but that, not being perfectly well acquainted with the affair, he had refused to concern himself in it at all, through fear, lest he should favour a rebel. He desired me to relate to him all the circumstances of it; which I accordingly did very succinctly; so that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that, however he might be solicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himself in it; and said, he wished others would meddle as little in the affairs of the English Catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered these words, that they were meant as a kind of reproach.

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In order to underſtand what is here meant, it is neceſſary to be informed, that ſome time before the death of Eliſabeth, the partiſans of Spain, having, as uſual, the Jeſuits at their head, had raiſed diſturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Tho' religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either becauſe the King of Spain, as his flatterers had perſuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were ſo well founded, that, after the death of the Queen, he might openly declare his pretenſions, or becauſe he ſought to involve the ſucceſſor of Eliſabeth in ſuch troubles as might prevent his engaging in any thing elſe. The Jeſuits, upon this occaſion, very imprudently it ſhould ſeem, had differed with the Engliſh Catholic ſecular clergy. This was chiefly occaſioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-prieſt *, which the Engliſh Catholics would not allow. The affair was brought before the Pope, who, upon this occaſion, for reaſons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with thoſe Jeſuits, nor with Spain, but, on the contrary, liſtened very favourably to the ſecular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a paſſport under Cecil's own hand. This is a proof that Eliſabeth thought ſhe ought to defend the ſeculars; and alſo, that ſhe looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the ſame opinion with Eliſabeth, awd the common intereſt had from the firſt determined him to ſupport the Engliſh clergy at the court of Rome againſt the Spaniſh cabal.

* Cardinal d'Oſſat, in his letter of the 28th of May 1601, to M. de Villeroi, ſays, that, at the ſuggeſtion of an Engliſh Jeſuit, whoſe name was father Perſonio, (or parſons), rector of the Engliſh college at Rome, and devoted to the King of Spain, if he was ſo to any, the Pope created in England a certain arch-prieſt to whoſe authority all the eccleſiaſtics, and even all the other Catholics of England, were to be ſubject. By this means, adds he, it was propoſed to have the greater part of the Catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

From

From hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occaſion to prejudice James againſt us *, by inſinuating to him, that Henry had ſupported the Engliſh clergy only with deſign to gain them to his own intereſts, and that from the ſame views that Spain had done. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the King of England in this reſpect. I repreſented to him, that Henry having conſidered, that to prevent the whole body of the Catholics of Britain from entering into the Spaniſh intereſts, was a point of the utmoſt conſequence; he had therefore been indiſpenſibly obliged to appear in their favour upon ſeveral occaſions; but that he had been ſo far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any deſign prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his ſole intention had been to oppoſe this common enemy; and that had the Catholics departed in the leaſt from their duty, or even appeared ſo to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

James was ſo fully ſatisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which he meditated in regard to the Roman Catholics of his kingdom; "from your information, (ſaid he,) "and with the approbation of Henry." He had afterwards ſeveral opportunities of being convinced that I had not impoſed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the Engliſh Catholics. James anſwered this letter in a more obliging manner than uſually the court of London did letters received

* The King of England cannot be conſidered as blameable for having taken umbrage againſt France upon that account. The ſame Cardinal gives us to underſtand, that the political views of the Spaniſh party were, by this means, to unite the Pope, the King of France, the King of Spain, and the Engliſh Catholics, to place a Catholic King upon the throne of England. But it is likewiſe true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this deſign, but alſo that he had acquieſced with Eliſabeth in quite different purpoſes. This fact is related, in the Septennaire, an. 1604.

from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reaſons, he not only entered into the ſame views in regard to this affair which good policy had ſuggeſted to Henry, but it alſo ſeemed probable, that, to ſecure the Engliſh Catholic party, he would chuſe rather to have recourſe to the Pope and his miniſters than to any foreign prince. The Pope, on his ſide, did not ſhew himſelf inſenſible of this preference *. One Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote againſt that prince, when only King of Scotland, his holineſs would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to ſtay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumſtance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the King of England; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

Upon my departure, at the concluſion of this my ſecond audience, I was informed that this Prince was to ſet out the Monday following to meet the Queen; and I judged, that the audience which his Majeſty promiſed to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the laſt I ſhould obtain. And as I was afraid I ſhould not be able to conclude my negotiations in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this requeſt, all his time being abſolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would ſend his miniſters on Friday the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

* We muſt believe either that his Holineſs had no concern in the political deſign which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by Cardinal d'Oſſat; or that, perceiving it had miſcarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were poſſible, the King of England, who had at firſt ſhewn himſelf ſo favourably diſpoſed to the Catholics, that it was reported he would become one himſelf; and that he had only pretended to be of the Reformed religion, in order to aſcend the throne without oppoſition.

Accordingly, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me Admiral Howard, the Earls of Northumberland and Mar, Lord Mountjoy, lieutenant-general in Scotland, and Secretary Cecil, who was their ſpeaker. After the firſt compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the King of England though he could not better ſhew his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty how ſenſible he was, both of the uprightneſs of his intention, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Oſtend, and the ſupport of the ſtates.

I was immediately ſenſible of this ſecretary's artifice, and the deſign of it, in thus conſtruing what I had ſaid to the King of England in a manner different from my real meaning, I replied, that indeed the King my maſter would have been extremely glad to have had ſome meaſures taken in Europe, to prevent the invaſions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was ſo far from having ſent me to give law to his Britannic Majeſty, that he did not himſelf know what conduct to purſue with regard to the affairs of thoſe provinces, with the true ſtate of which he was not even well acquainted. That it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, becauſe, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing. That nothing farther could be concluded from what I had ſaid to his Britannic Majeſty, than that when he ſhould be well diſpoſed towards them, I could engage, that the diſpoſitions of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would not be contrary to his; and, in a word, that I was come about no other deſign, than to be informed of the intentions of the King and parliament of England.

Cecil replied, that he had no deſign to deceive me by what he had ſaid, but only to hear my ſentiments of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and to know

know whether any expedient had been deviſed in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties of which at London this enterpriſe ſeemed to be ſo full, that it appeared impoſſible to be executed. He confeſſed, in ſetting forth theſe pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low-Countries would, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, occaſion the loſs of theſe provinces. Then reaſoning from the falſe concluſion, that there was no medium between ſuch an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to ſhew, that the war would be ſtill leſs agreeable than the peace to England, which was already exhauſted, though at a time too when great expences were requiſite in conſequence of the coronation. And he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France muſt alone be engaged in the execution of her deſigns. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to ſecond them. The riches and power of France were alſo a ſubject which did not eſcape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the addreſs of which he was maſter, to make me declare, that the King of France, being reſolved to make the buſineſs of the States his own, deſired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his conſent with pleaſure.

I gave Cecil to underſtand, by ſmiling at his laſt words, that he had laid his ſnare for me in vain; and I told him, that without ſeriouſly replying to propoſals which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occaſion of ſpeaking, it was ſufficient for me to deſire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myſelf, and this was, that England, by ſuffering France to act alone for ſome time before ſhe joined her, inſtead of laying the foundation of an alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture. Becauſe one would expect to enjoy

the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself personally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheless, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in case his proposal for an union with France within a year had been sincere on his part. Because the King of France would rather chuse to defer the declaration of war against Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the present situation of her affairs, as it was to England.

Upon this occasion I thought it proper again to repeat, and in terms the most explicit, that I was not come to propose to the English council a declaration of war from the two Kings of France and England against Spain: but only to represent, that good policy required them not to suffer the United Provinces to be oppressed for want of succours, which might be given them without disturbing the quiet of the rest of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic Majesty upon the nature of these succours, and the other steps to be taken, both at present and afterwards, in favour of the Flemish. Upon this, the King's counsellors thanked me for the sincerity with which I had spoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his Majesty hereupon, that then he would converse with the deputies of the States about it; and, if I desired it, even in my presence, which I did not think proper to oppose. Thus ended our conference.

Count d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, sent at last to desire the King of England would dispense with it entirely. on account of his indisposition, and that he would only send one of his counsellors to confer with him. James did not appear satisfied with this procedure; he however granted him, what he

desired, and Cecil was the person charged with this commission. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himself, being desirous to avoid giving any new cause to vilify him upon this occasion, sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct, that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kinloss, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'Aremberg confined himself wholly to compliment, and to the most general expressions. When pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier, and had no skill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the King of England had to say to him, and that, after him, his master would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved. Indeed no ambassador was perhaps ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards. It was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it to favour me. And if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this aukward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed. It was even entirely forgot, when it was said, that the Spanish ambassador, who began to be no longer expected, would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the conclusion he was preparing for my projects, and the other counsellors appeared disposed to fall into their

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former irresolution I was even informed from good hands, that it not being doubted but this ambassador would make proposals to his Britannic Majesty, accompanied by irresistable offers, part of these counsellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby, from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

What was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 20th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his Majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his Majesty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon. He said no hing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our sitting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chace and the weather. The heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myself, who sat with James at table, where I was not a little surprised to behold that he was always served on the knee. A surtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

The conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment. But an opportunity offering for the King to speak of the late Queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, with some sort of contempt. He even went so far as to say, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that Princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than herself.

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He then called for ſome wine, his cuſtom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glaſs in his hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the King, the Queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without forgetting his children. He inclined himſelf to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me ſoftly, that the next health he would drink ſhould be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houſes. He had never till now ſaid to me a ſingle word about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well choſen. I failed not, however, to receive the propoſal with all poſſible marks of joy, and replied ſoftly, that I was certain Henry would not heſitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the King of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the ſame ſubject. James, ſurpriſed at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the ſame offers of the Infanta for his ſon, as ſhe had to France for the Dauphin. The King of England appeared to me to be ſtill in the ſentiments in which I had left him in our laſt conference; tho' he gave me no opportunity of converſing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were preſent, that he approved every thing that had been done in the laſt conference between the counſellors and me: that he would not ſuffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which ſuccours were to be granted them ſhould be ſettled. For this purpoſe he gave orders that his counſellor ſhould, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought theſe words ſufficiently authoriſed me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic Majeſty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the preſence of his miniſters.

Having

Having found means, in the courſe of the converſation, to drop ſome few complaints of the piracies of the Engliſh upon the French, the King ſaid, that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the Engliſh Admiral, who appeared himſelf inclined to vindicate what had been done. At laſt, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he uſually paſſed part of the afternoon, and ſometimes even the whole of it.

The journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hoped I ſhould, without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to ſay; and this gave me ſome conſolation for having done ſo little this day. For notwithſtanding what has here been ſaid of reſolutions and ſuccours in ſupport of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the iſſue which I deſired; for the King of England ſtill referred me, for the concluſion of them, to the ſame perſons as before; and theſe, I very well knew, were not diſpoſed in my favour. Nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy preſage; for they were very far from conſidering themſelves as having ſucceeded in their offenſive and defenſive alliance with France and England, with which they had ſometimes flattered themſelves. They reſolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at leaſt ſecure France in their intereſts.

For this purpoſe Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehenſions in regard to the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, which was always ſaid to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the loweſt ebb of deſpair, would abandon every thing, and ſeek an aſylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt obſerved, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations.

aggerations. I told him, that it was the Engliſh council, and not I, which was to be perſuaded; becauſe I was ſufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed ſituation. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the King of England, good policy required that France, ſhould openly and alone eſpouſe the cauſe of the United-Provinces, before their ſtrength and ſpirits were entirely ſpent and exhauſted. I replied that he required of me what was not in my power, becauſe I was come to London only, if it were poſſible to enter into an aſſociation with the Engliſh, and in caſe they refuſed this to know their reaſons.

After this we had ſome diſcourſe about the towns deſtined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil, in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemiſh deputies, had given him to underſtand, that England being reſolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the ceſſion of thoſe places as a ſecurity; and in conſequence of this ceſſion, Cecil had only promiſed him, that theſe towns ſhould be preſerved in a ſtrict neutrality, till the debt of the States was paid. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as intereſting as it really was, acquainted me, tho' with all the reſerve which ought to be obſerved by a man intruſted upon oath with the ſecrets of his council, that the States had put things in ſuch a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could obtain poſſeſſion of thoſe places. But from hence he alſo inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the conſequence of this would probably be a war, between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reaſon that he preſſed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confeſſed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the reſolution of his maſters; but that

the King of France, upon this occaſion, could only lament their ſituation, not being in a condition to ſupport them with open force againſt Spain and England together.

In the afternoon, all the Flemiſh deputies came in a body to aſſiſt in the conference; and ſoon after them the Engliſh counſellors, appointed by his Britannic Majeſty, alſo arrived. Cecil being, as uſual, the ſpeaker for all of them, began by ſaying directly, that the King of England was really in the intereſt of the States. And turning to me, he aſked me, whether this was not what I deſired, and the real deſign of my commiſſion? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt haſty procedure of the Secretary; and, inſtead of giving him a direct anſwer, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings deſigning to intereſt themſelves in their affairs, they ought therefore juſty to repreſent the ſtate of them; that from a full and perfect knowledge of their neceſſity, the ſuccours which they wanted might be aſcertained. Barnevelt, as uſual, drew a picture of the miſeries to which Spain had reduced them; and theſe he deſcribed in as lively and affecting a manner as he poſſibly could. But to come more immediately to the buſineſs, he ſaid, it was neceſſary that the Spaniards ſhould be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to ſucceed in this in the ſpace of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner. That the whole force of the United Provinces amounted to about twelve or fifteen thouſand infantry, not including the garriſons, and three thouſand cavalry, beſides fifty ſhips actually in a condition to ſerve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was neceſſary, than for the two kings to double theſe forces, by furniſhing an equal number of each as above mentioned.

I was

I was apprehenſive theſe propoſals would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authoriſe the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he ſhould have been more careful only to aſk what could be granted. I then aſked Cecil, in a manner ſomewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his maſter, with regard to what was here propoſed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic Majeſty would have been glad to have maintained himſelf in a ſolid and ſincere peace with all his neighbours. That, as far as could be judged from the ſtate of France, and from mere appearances, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was probably of the ſame ſentiments. Nevertheleſs, that from the remonſtrances which I had made to the King of England, this prince was determined to purſue the medium between his own deſires and thoſe of the States, that is, he would conſent privately to aſſiſt the United Provinces. That perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at preſent they muſt expect nothing farther.

The deputies not doubting but this reſolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themſelves upon what had been ſaid by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his diſcourſe, ſaid, that indeed the King of England was very willing to aſſiſt the States but that he had no deſire to ruin himſelf for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of theſe pretended ſuccours, that he might not be afterwards anſwerable for any promiſes or poſitive engagements. But he ſaid, that in caſe Spain ſhould carry her reſentment ſo far as perſonally to attack the two Kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both ſides, France muſt contribute eight thouſand infantry, and two thouſand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the ſame rule might be obſerved in regard to the ſquadrons

which it would be neceſſary to have upon the coaſt of Spain, and in the Indies. And he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of theſe forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the King of England would willingly ſacrifice it for the ſervice of the common cauſe.

I was extremely diſſatisfied at the Engliſh ſecretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any poſitive agreement, by purpoſely evading the ſtate of the queſtion, and by raiſing only anticipated difficulties. But I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a ſubject to be diſcuſſed in ſo vague a manner. That it was above all things neceſſary, without an equivocation, abſolutely to determine what ſhould be done in favour of the United Provinces, and for the relief of Oſtend. That after this, whether the council of his Britiſh Majeſty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other conſiderable matters to diſcuſs, in regard to the following ſuppoſitions. Firſt, that this crown ſhould attack only one of the two kings, or ſhould attack them both. Secondly, that the two kings ſhould declare themſelves the aggreſſors. And, laſtly, that they ſhould endeavour to make conqueſts upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more ſenſible that he ſcarce entered at all into the affair, I repreſented to him, that, in caſe of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the ſuperiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, beſides twenty thouſand men which he would have in Flanders, would alſo be indiſpenſibly obliged to have the ſame number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Breſſe, not to mention the ſquadrons of gallies which he muſt alſo have to ſecure the Mediterranean; that it was neceſſary e-

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ven now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand troublesome discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes.

Then replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him, I could not conceive for what reasons he was for casting upon the King of France the whole or greatest part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the King of England. That if by such means the British council sought to distress Henry, it but ill understood its interests, nor considered that, though an equality of expences should be stipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than these; such were those for the defence of her coasts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemies forces, would not be less serviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all these reasons, I thought the English council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the sum lent to France. That Henry was so far from expecting any such matter, that he had given me no orders about it. That I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to discharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late Queen. And that within the current year he proposed to pay two hundred thousand livres; but still, that the British council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by shewing, from their unreasonable difficulties and suspicions, that their sole view was more and more to exhaust France; which conduct was very malignant, and absolutely opposite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifested nothing but honesty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I said made not the impression upon my hearers which I desired. On the contrary, the English

Engliſh took fire, and proteſted, if any thing farther was poſitively demanded, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil, more eſpecially in this conference, fully diſcovered himſelf to me for what he really was; he made uſe only of double expreſſions, vague propoſals, and falſe meanings, being perfectly ſenſible that reaſon was not on his ſide. The moderation and ſincerity which I oppoſed to his ill-deſigning ſubtilties, forced him into contradictions, which put him to the bluſh, when by a ſingle word I made him ſenſible of the ridiculouſneſs of what he ſaid. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; ſometimes he endeavoured to ſhew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain. He watched opportunities to wreſt any words which might drop from me or the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciouſly ſuppoſed that we had ſaid things which never entered our thoughts. He proceeded ſo far as to endeavour to raiſe diſcord between me and the deputies, by caſting upon me the refuſal of openly aſſiſting the States. He, and his colleagues by his direction, demanded that France ſhould immediately pay to England, in part of what ſhe owed, forty or fifty thouſand pounds Sterling. And he told the deputies, that theſe ſums ſhould be employed for the relief of their moſt preſſing neceſſities, and, upon my refuſal, they all ſaid it could be imputed only to me, becauſe, ſaid they, all the money in France was in my diſpoſal. If all the merit of thoſe we uſually call able politicians conſiſts in thus endeavouring to enſnare the open and undeſigning, and to make theſe bear the blame of their wickedneſs, while they at the ſame time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very deſpicable thing. What piqued me the moſt was, to ſee that theſe miniſters, who were here only to ſet forth the intentions of the King, impudently ſubſtituted their own inſtead of them. For I knew well,

well, and was firmly perſuaded, from the manner in which this Prince has talked to them in my preſence, that he had given them quite contrary orders.

The deputies, who had returned, and were preſent at this time, again retired, greatly diſſatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before; whereupon Cecil again changed his battery. He ſaid, that ſince the King of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unleſs her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the beſt conduct therefore which the two Kings could purſue, would be to continue to live in friendſhip, but without intermeddling with any foreign diſputes whatſoever. This, probably, was what the ſecretary really propoſed; and, notwithſtanding the length and frefrequency of his diſcourſes, was all he had ever uttered with ſincerity

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the Engliſh, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, ſaid, they would relate to the King every thing which had paſſed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things ſhould be expeditiouſly ſettled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my laſt, and that wherein I ſhould take my leave; becauſe, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept ſilence upon this occaſion, moſt certainly it was not becauſe I acquieſced in what they ſaid; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again expoſed themſelves, and as it were confeſſed themſelves to be liars and impoſtors, had inſpired me with the utmoſt contempt for them; but I judged, that expoſtulation or paſſion would be ſo far from making them quit a reſolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture; whereas, as matters

ters were at present situated, friendship at least subsisted between the two kings, and as this friendship might be more strongly cemented by a double marriage, (which was publicly talked of), some more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not absolutely despair of the success of my commission; because I thought I perceived the King had no concern in the designs which his counsellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

To come at a certainty in respect to this, was what I proposed in my third audience: for I do not consider as such my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the King, and this Prince sent Erskine to tell me, that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch Lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the Earl of Mar. The Lords Hume and Seaford about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the Earl of Derby, who conducted me into the King's apartment, I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

The King of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that no one should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that shewed how greatly he was satisfied with the King of France, and me, and how sensible he was of his most Christian Majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him; he insisted, that making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment therefore seemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his ministers; and after the usual complimentary

thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all reſpects to confer with him than his counſellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the laſt conference, had alſo without doubt, given him a falſe account of what had paſſed between them and me and the Flemiſh deputies; and I promiſed, if he would give me leave, to give him a ſincere and juſt relation of every thing.

The King approving my propoſal, I acquainted him with all that had paſſed between us the preceding evening; I inſiſted more eſpecially upon the demand to diſcharge the debt owing to England, and on the aſperſion upon his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added, that, if after having filled my letters to Henry only with eulogies on the generoſity, the prudence, and the perfect friendſhip of the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, and this becauſe he himſelf had authoriſed me to do it, both by his words and actions, I ſhould be obliged, on a ſudden to write to him in a quite contrary ſtyle, without having any reaſon to alledge for it, other than difficulties, entirely frivolous, the King my maſter could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful miniſter, to the intereſt with which he had intruſted me; and it would beſides be conſidered as the effect of a determined friendſhip with Spain, from whence perhaps, a rupture might enſue between the two kings, whoſe intereſt, as well as inclination required their continuing in a conſtant ſtate of union. I thought I ought not to heſitate upon informing the King of England, that there were ſeveral of thoſe whom he admitted into his council who were neither well diſpoſed in themſelves, nor well affected to his perſon; that, without naming them to him, he ought to conſider as ſuch all thoſe who appeared ſo little ſolicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown,

as to adviſe him, under the name of an ally, to render himſelf the ſlave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in ſome degree, diffident of ſuch perſons whoſe characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wiſdom, than the repreſentations of his miniſters.

It was no difficult matter to inſpire the King of England with a diffidence of his miniſters; for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my laſt words, his geſture, and ſome expreſſions that eſcaped him, convinced me my obſervation was juſt; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praiſes I laviſhed on him, this prince was at laſt in the moſt favourable diſpoſition I could wiſh him: I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our converſation ſome general hints of a project, by which, with the aſſiſtance of his Britannic Majeſty, the tranquillity of all Europe might be ſecured. Having ſaid this, I remained ſilent, as though I had been apprehenſive of fatiguing him by too long a diſcourſe. But I knew the curioſity of James would be excited by the little I had ſaid: accordingly he replied, that my diſcourſe had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and aſked ſome of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir," ſaid the King to me returning, "I will break off the party "for the chace which I had made for this day, that "I may hear you to the end; and this employment "will, I am perſuaded, be of more ſervice to me "than the other."

The reaſon that induced me to hazard a ſtep of ſuch conſequence, as that of communicating to King James the great deſigns upon Spain and all Europe, which

which had been concerted between Henry and Elisabeth, was, that being perſuaded this prince was already, of himſelf, inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this reſolution from ſome great and noble motive; and becauſe, on the other ſide, his miniſters conſtantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently becauſe he could not ſupport himſelf againſt them, from a perſuaſion that they oppoſed his ſentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very neceſſary.

I therefore reſumed the diſcourſe, and told him, that, without doubt, he had ſometimes thought, and with good reaſon, that a man in poſſeſſion of the places and honours with which I was known to be inveſted, never quitted his poſt but for a very urgent occaſion; that this was my caſe; that tho' my commiſſion was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheleſs, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been ſilent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had reſolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to diſcourſe with his Britannic Majeſty on ſomething infinitely more conſiderable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of ſuch a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without expoſing myſelf to ruin, unleſs he would engage, by the moſt ſolemn oath to keep it a ſecret. James, who liſtened to me with a profound attention, heſitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unneceſſary, he endeavoured himſelf to diſcover what it was of ſo intereſting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my anſwers to the different queſtions which he ſucceſſively aſked me gave him not the leaſt light into the affair, he ſatisfied me at laſt, by the moſt ſacred and ſo-

lemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy ſacrament.

Though I had now nothing to fear from his indiſcretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and beginning with an article in which I knew the King of England was moſt intereſted, I mean religion, I told him, that, however I might appear to him engaged in wordly honours and affairs, and how indifferent ſoever he might perhaps have ſuppoſed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no leſs certain that I was attached to mine, even ſo much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even King; that I had neglected nothing which might incline the King my maſter to eſtabliſh it in France upon ſolid foundations, being under great apprehenſions leſt it might one day be overwhelmed by ſo powerful a faction as that of an union of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, the Archdukes, the Catholic princes of Germany, and ſo many other ſtates and communities intereſted in its ſuppreſſion; that my ſucceſs hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party oppoſite to the houſe of Auſtria. That becauſe theſe circumſtances might change, or becauſe I, who was the only perſon that would uſe any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might loſe my place and his favour, I did not ſee how the King of France could reſiſt a party which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this conſideration had long inſpired me with the thoughts of finding a perſon for the execution of this deſign, who, by his rank and power would be more proper than me to accompliſh it, and fix Henry in his ſentiments. That having found all that I had ſought for in the Prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himſelf

ſelf to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a deſign to which he would always appear to have put the finiſhing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

There remained only to explain to him the nature of this deſign, of which at firſt I gave nothing further than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an aſſociation of all the princes and ſtates in Europe, whoſe intereſt it was to diminiſh the power of the houſe of Auſtria, the foundation of which ſhould be an offenſive and defenſive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented by the cloſeſt union of the two royal houſes of Bourbon and Stuart I repreſented this aſſociation in a light which ſhewed it might be very eaſily formed. There was not the leaſt difficulty in regard to Demnark, Sweden, in a word, all the Proteſtant princes and ſtates; and it might be rendered ſufficiently advantageous to engage in it the Catholic princes alſo: for example, the turbulent and ambitious diſpoſition of the Duke of Savoy might be ſoothed with hopes of obtaining the title of King; and the princes of Germany, with promiſes to diſtribute among them thoſe parts of it which the houſe of Auſtria poſſeſſed, as Bohemia, Auſtria, Hungary, Moravia, Sileſia, &c. and to re-eſtabliſh their ancient privileges: Even the Pope himſelf might be gained, by granting him the property of thoſe countries of which he only poſſeſſed the feodality. In regard to the King of France, though I endeavoured to perſuade James that he had hitherto had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming, I however, ſaid, that when I ſhould have communicated it to him, I could ſafely engage he would have no thoughts, either of retaining any conqueſts which might be made, or being recompenſed for them: though,

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according to all appearances, the greateſt part of the burden would fall upon him, as well as in the expences neceſſary for the carrying on the enterpriſe, as his own perſonal ſervices. I imagined it was moſt proper to give the affair this turn, in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too abſolute an obligation.

The King of England immediately ſtarted ſome objections, upon the difficulty of uniting ſo many different princes ſo differently diſpoſed; the ſame nearly which Henry had made when we had laſt diſcourſed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz; though, from the ſlight ſketch which I had given him of the deſign, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expreſſed a deſire of being more circumſtantially informed of it. In conformity with which deſire, the following is the ſubſtance of what I had ſaid to his Britannic Majeſty.

Europe is divided into two factions, which are not ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed by their different religions, becauſe Catholics and Proteſtants are confounded together in almoſt all places, as they are by their political intereſts; the firſt is compoſed of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spaniſh Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the Catholic ſtates of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewiſe muſt be compriſed the Catholics diſperſed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jeſuits, whoſe views no doubt, are, to ſubject every thing to the Spaniſh monarchy. The ſecond includes the Kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland. I do not take in Poland, Pruſſia, Livonia, Muſcovy, and Tranſylvania, though theſe countries are ſubject to the Chriſtian religion, becauſe

cauſe the wars in which they are almoſt continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in ſome manner foreign in regard to thoſe of the weſtern part of Europe

Were the power to be eſtimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the ſlighteſt glance, not very favourable to the ſecond of theſe factions, and the ſuperiority would apparently be determined in favour of the firſt. Nevertheleſs, nothing is more erroneous than ſuch an opinion; which may thus be proved: Spain, which muſt here be named firſt of her faction, (though, from rank and dignity, ſhe is only the third) becauſe ſhe is in reality the ſoul of it; Spain, I ſay, including her dominions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, does indeed poſſeſs an extent of territory as large as Turky and Perſia together. But if it be true, (and that it is ſo cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ſhips and inhabitants, this immenſe extent of territory, inſtead of being ſerviceable, is burdenſome.

Let us take a view of the other powers of this faction, and we ſhall every where find reaſon to diminiſh our ordinary ideas. The Pope ſeems firmly attached to Spain; and, ſurrounded as he is on all ſides by this formidable power, and having no reaſon to expect ſuccours from any of the other Catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his intereſt to be ſo. But as he does, in fact, conſider his ſituation as but little different from real ſervitude: and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the Jeſuits only make a vain appearance of ſupporting his authority; it may, doubtleſs, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himſelf from the Spaniſh yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which ſhould offer to render him their ſervice, without the running

ning any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the Emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to increase the jealousies and quarrels which so frequenty arise between these two branches of Austrian power: besides, what is his power? it consists merely in his title. Hungary Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to incursions of the formidable armies of the Grand Signior; liable, on the other side, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions also, lest the Elector princes should rise and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed the present Emperor, all things justly considered, might perhaps be classed among the most inconsiderable of the European powers: besides, this Austrian branch appears to me so destitute of good subjects, that if it hath not soon a prince, either brave or wise enough to unite the different members of which Germany is composed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whose only aim it is, to get their liberty, in religion and election, restored to them. I do not except even the Elector of Saxony, though he appears the more sincerely attached to the Emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, because it is evident his religion must, sooner or later, set him at variance with his benefactor. But supposing the Emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this Elector, this will amount to nothing, or but very little, so long as he shall be under apprehensions from the branch of John Frederick, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

Thus, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almoſt all the powers on which Spain ſeems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her but little ſervice. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themſelves from the dominion of the Emperor, and even to aggrandiſe themſelves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependance on the eccleſiaſtical princes, than on the others. A foreign Emperor is what they moſt wiſh, provided he is not a Proteſtant. Nothing could give the Archdukes a greater pleaſure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they ſhould become Sovereigns in Flanders, independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her ſervants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the Duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the King of Spain, for doing ſo much leſs for the daughter which he beſtowed upon him, than for her young ſiſter. As to Italy, it need only be obſerved, that it will be obliged to acquieſce in the will of the ſtronger party.

It is therefore certain, that the ſecond of the factions here deſcribed has nothing to fear, provided it underſtands its own intereſts well enough to continue in a conſtant ſtate of union. Now it is alſo certain, that in this ſcheme theſe motives, ſo natural to diſunion, do not occur; and that all of them, even that cauſed by the difference of religion, which in ſome ſort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred againſt Spain, which is the great and common motive by which theſe powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the leaſt jealous of his glory, who would refuſe to enter into an aſſociation ſtrengthened by four ſuch powerful kings as thoſe of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, cloſely united? It was a ſaying of Eliſabeth's, that nothing

could reſiſt theſe four powers, in ſtrict alliance with each other.

Theſe truths being ſuppoſed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the houſe of Auſtria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to poſſeſs that dominion only. Theſe methods conſiſt either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of theſe. The firſt of the ſecret means is, to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the Indies; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourſe with theſe countries to the reſt of the Europeans, than ſhe has to deſtroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having alſo a liberty to make eſtabliſhments in the new diſcovered countries as ſoon as they have paſſed the line, this enterpriſe would therefore be eaſily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thouſand men, all provided and victualled for ſix months; England to furniſh the ſhips, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the moſt powerful, the money and ſoldiers. There would be no occaſion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries ſhould be equally divided.

During this, the ſecond of theſe means ſhould be ſecretly prepared, upon occaſion of the ſucceſſion to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far diſtant, in ſuch a manner, that under favour of the opportunities which theſe two incidents might furniſh, reaſons might be found to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to reſtore the ancient free manner of election.

The firſt of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this ſtate into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are conſider-

ed,

ed, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the firſt ſide of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the ſea: the ſecond is bounded by France, *viz.* by Picardy, as far as the Somme, and by the country of Meſſin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and Metz, as far as Duſſeldorp. It is only neceſſary to ſecure theſe three ſides in ſuch manner that they may be inacceſſible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the firſt, France the ſecond, the Electors and the other intereſted princes the third. All the towns which ſhould happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Trionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately ſubmit.

The ſecond of the two laſt means is, for the league above mentioned generally and in concert to declare war againſt Spain and the whole houſe of Auſtria. What is moſt eſſential to obſerve in regard to this war, is, that France and England ſhould renounce all pretences to any ſhare of the conqueſt, and relinquiſh them to thoſe powers who were not of themſelves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Compté, Alſace, and Tiroll, naturally fall to the Switzers. The Duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to the Pope, as being moſt convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Iſtria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the moſt ſolid foundation of this confederacy would ariſe from all the parties being gainers by it. The reſt of Italy, ſubject to its petty princes, might perhaps be ſuffered to continue under its preſent form of government, provided that all theſe little ſtates were altogether

conſidered as compoſing only one body or republic, of which they ſhould be ſo many members.

This is a pretty juſt account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic Majeſty with the deſign to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confeſſed that I was not myſelf able to elucidate the deſign; that I was not ſurpriſed that his Majeſty had at firſt perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it alſo, but that they only proceeded from my own weakneſs, and the impoſſibility of ſhewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long diſcourſes; that I was convinced in my own mind, the deſign was not only poſſible, but that alſo the ſucceſs of it was infallible; that if any thing was found defective in the ſcheme as I had conceived it, it might eaſily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and ſome of the beſt generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be intruſted.

I then returned to the alliance between the two Kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic Majeſty, that this alliance being the chief and neceſſary foundation of the confederacy which I had propoſed to him, this muſt therefore neceſſarily begin it, without paying any regard to the diſcourſes of prejudiced perſons, or being affected by ſuch frivolous conſiderations as thoſe of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I aſſured him, that England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amaſſing ſuch vaſt ſums, were only deſigned hereafter to enable him of himſelf to accompliſh the greateſt part of this important deſign; at leaſt, that I could flatter myſelf with ſucceſs in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public ſervice, which operated ſo powerfully upon

upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his moſt ſenſible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his deſire of being brought into compariſon with Henry, and of ſharing his praiſes.

My earneſtneſs to ſucceed, gave ſuch force and clearneſs to my expreſſions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of tranſport proceeding from his friendſhip for me, and a ſenſe of the wrong meaſures which hitherto endeavours had been uſed to make him purſue. "No, Sir," ſaid he, "do not fear that I ſhall "ever fail in what we have together agreed upon." He proteſted with the ſame ardour, that he would not on any conſideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the King of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had ſaid, would yet farther confirm him in the ſentiments with which I had inſpired him; that he would even now engage to ſign the plan of alliance which I had preſented him on Sunday, and wherein he had himſelf made ſome inconſiderable alterations; that I ſhould alſo ſign it in the name of the King of France, unleſs I rather choſe to carry it with me unſigned, to ſhew it to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; in which caſe he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or ſending it back at the end of a month or ſix weeks, approved and ſigned by Henry, he would immediately, and without the leaſt difficulty, join to it his own ſignature. He concluded, by obligingly aſſuring me, that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the King of France. He made me promiſe the ſame ſecrecy in regard to all perſons, except the King my maſter, which I had been ſo free as to require of him; and this he extended ſo far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain

tain things which, upon this occaſion, he revealed to me, and which I therefore ſuppreſs.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The King called in Admiral Howard, the Earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, Lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately conſidered my reaſons, he was reſolved to enter into a cloſe alliance with France againſt Spain. He reproached Cecil in very ſtrong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the Secretary received very aukwardly. "Cecil," ſaid this Prince to him, "I command you, without any reply or "objection, in conformity to this my deſign, to "prepare the neceſſary writings, according to "which, *I will then give the dexter* *, and all af- "ſurances to the ambaſſadors of the States." This was the firſt time he had diſtinguiſhed them by this title. Then turning to me, and taking me by the hand, he ſaid, "Well, Mr. Ambaſſador, are you "now perfectly ſatisfied with me?"

I replied with a profound bow, and making his Majeſty the ſame proteſtations of fidelity and attachment, as if it had been to my own King, I deſired he would let me confirm it to him by kiſſing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendſhip with an air of goodneſs and confidence which very much diſpleaſed ſeveral of his counſellors that were preſent. Upon my diſmiſſion, he gave orders to the Earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to eſcort me to London.

* This expreſſion ſignifies an oath, or promiſe of alliance, made by preſenting the right hand. Or, perhaps, as King James was the greateſt pedant of his time, it might only mean that he was willing to ſign it.

BOOK XVI.

NOthing now remained, but to reduce into form the ſeveral particulars of the ſtipulations between the King of England and me, and ſignified by this Prince to his miniſters, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a plan of a treaty, between the two Kings. For indeed a peace, whoſe final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, into whoſe hands it was firſt to be tranſmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occaſion, I was perfectly ſenſible the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which neceſſity had obliged Henry and me to take in the council of France, not to propoſe any thing to the King of England, but as of myſelf.

James, being more entirely perſuaded than I could have wiſhed him, that I had acted only from the ſuggeſtions of my own deſires, and for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion againſt all events which might happen, had never, from the ſecrets which I had revealed to him, conſidered me as the inſtrument of the King my maſter; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himſelf firſt, upon very promiſing appearances indeed, that the King of France would concur with him even with greater readineſs. But how great is the difference between ſuch a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein, by virtue of a full power from the King, I might, with all the care and exactneſs poſſible, have inſerted every particular in that clear and diſtinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their ſtrength

ſtrength and duration? I ſhould not ſo confidently aſſert, that, upon this occaſion, inſtead of the mere form of a convention, I had reaſon to expect his Britannic Majeſty's ſignature of a treaty, complete in every ſenſe, which it would not be poſſible for him to retract, had not the murmers, of which the letters of the Count of Beaumont to the King are full, in regard to this defficiency of a ſigned blank, been an authentic teſtimony, that vanity or ſelf-love do not in the leaſt move me to exaggerate.

But I ſhould reproach myſelf with being guilty of injuſtice, were I to appear ſuſpicious of the good faith of King James; on the contrary, I affirm, no prince in Europe could ſhew himſelf more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be leaſt expoſed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and maſter of its ſentiments, is, however, the moſt changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other inſtance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almoſt always fail in the execution, provided they can find the ſmalleſt colour or pretence for ſo atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a ſolemn promiſe or engagement were not the ſame as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as ſoon as I was gone, the counſellors of his Britannic Majeſty would uſe their utmoſt efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the moſt active for this purpoſe; for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the King on my account, and his confuſion from the converſation which I had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were ſo many wounds which altogether had abſolutely mortified him.

Nevertheleſs it will readily be admitted that I had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my negotiation: my own ſituation in the affair conſidered *, its concluſion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having ſucceeded in an enterpriſe that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the riſk of being accuſed of exceeding the bounds preſcribed by my commiſſion. The King and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had never made them nor myſelf the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was poſſible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when conſidered in reſpect of Henry's deſign, to which I would readily have ſacrificed all other conſiderations, if I had not completely ſucceeded, it was becauſe I could not perform more, without ſhewing a diſregard to the terms preſcribed, not only in my public, but even in my private inſtructions. However, from what I have done, there aroſe one real and very ſenſible advantage; and this was, that in a conjuncture, wherein there were ſo many juſt cauſes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was abſolutely fruſtrated, and his Britannic Majeſty engaged in another, from which he

* The embaſſy of M. de Roſny is mentioned with great elogiums, in almoſt all the hiſtories and memoirs of that time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have ſpoke of it in the ſame manner, though ſome of them, as the authors of Villeroi's memoirs of ſtate, and of the hiſtory of the Duke of Bouillon had no intereſt in exalting the glory of that miniſter. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given, even the moſt minute circumſtances, vol. 2. p. 577. et ſeq. See alſo the manuſcripts in the King's library, vol. 9590. and the firſt volume of Siri mem. recond. Beſides the detail of the Marquis de Roſny's embaſſy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been ſaid here, p. 226. et ſeq. we find quite through this hiſtorian many very curious remarks on the council and perſon of King James, as well as on the affairs, of the Engliſh court.

could neither ſo ſoon nor ſo eaſily return to the former.

I therefore immediately ſet about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finiſhed, I preſented to the King of England and his counſellors, to be by them finally reviſed and examined: they read it ſeveral times, ſucceſſively retouched it, and made ſome inconſiderable alterations; at laſt it was abſolutely determined in the following manner.

The King of England, after returning his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambaſſador he had ſent him, renewed and confirmed the ancient treaties of alliance between Eliſabeth and Henry, and alſo between Scotland and France, and expreſſed his intention of applying them perſonally to himſelf by the preſent treaty, which, in a manner, comprehended them all, beſides its other principal deſign of their own perſonal defence againſt Spain, and the ſafety and preſervation of their dominions, ſubjects, and allies, in ſuch manner, and at ſuch times as the two Kings ſhould judge proper. The United Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expreſsly named; in regard to whom it was alſo ſtipulated, that proper meaſures ſhould be taken, either perfectly to ſecure their liberty, or at leaſt, that, in caſe they were conſidered as ſubjects to Spain or the empire, it ſhould be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquillity, and at the ſame time free the two allied kings from all apprehenſions of a too powerful and abſolute dominion of the houſe of Auſtria in theſe provinces.

However, beſides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themſelves openly, when either ſhould require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was alſo agreed immediately to furniſh the States-general

ral with ſuccours ſufficient to ſecure them from oppreſſion; the number of men who were to compoſe theſe ſuccours was not determined; it was only agreed that they ſhould be ſent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament ſhould be defrayed by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the ſum due from France to England. It was likewiſe agreed, that theſe proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low-Countries ſhould be purſued with as much ſecrecy as was poſſible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a ſuppoſition that this power, conſidering this action as an abſolute infraction, ſhould make repriſals upon the two protecting kings, the following reſolution was taken: if the King of England were attacked alone, the King of France ſhould furniſh him with an army of ſix thouſand French at his own expence, during the whole time of the war, and in four years, and by equal proportions, diſcharge the remainder of his debt. England ſhould act preciſely in the ſame manner, in regard to France, in caſe the ſtorm ſhould fall upon her; the choice of either ſea or land ſhould be in the option of the party attacked, nor ſhould England in this caſe require any part of her debt. Finally, ſhould Spain at once declare war againſt both, the allied princes, in order to act offenſively, and at the ſame time promote the ſecurity of Flanders, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould have an army of twenty thouſand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Breſſe; he ſhould likewiſe have the ſame number of forces in Flanders; and ſhould farther divide the Spaniſh forces, by directing his galleys to cruize in the Mediterranean. His Britannic Majeſty on his ſide, beſides a land army of at leaſt ſix thouſand men, which he ſhould keep in conſtant readineſs, ſhould ſend a fleet into the

West-Indies, and should order another to cruise upon the coasts of Spain. All payment of debts should be suspended, and each should defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two Kings; neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

Such was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it, and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed, or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the King of England, in presence of his counsellors: my dispatches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his Majesty the trouble; for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence, for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negotiation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but, besides that upon these occasions, it is a stroke of good policy, always to keep something in reserve, to insure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negotiation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed

buted ſtill more to increaſe my circumſpection. I have not mentioned this in it proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater conſequence.

Among the great number of letters which I ſent from London, ſome directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the King only, one of theſe laſt, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he diſcovered from the contents of my diſpatch by the next poſt, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greateſt conſequence. The courier to whom I entruſted it was one of my own domeſtics, of whoſe fidelity and honeſty I was perfectly ſatisfied: I queſtioned him, and he anſwered, that, upon his arrival, the King being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to aſk his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who alſo came and ſpoke to this clerk, and at the ſame delivered him ſeveral other packets directed for his maſter. This account I ſent his Majeſty, entreating him to make all poſſible inquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his Majeſty was able to give me no other ſatisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe the fault was in the poſt-maſter of Ecouan.

I had before had reaſon to be ſuſpicious, and the affair of the clerk, whoſe roguery I was alſo well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted that there was a traitor employed in the King's office, and even that this could be no other than one of thoſe under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithſtanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had deſcribed to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the ſtate, to diſcover the contents of the letters which

I wrote to his Majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity; for I wrote upon the cover, *Packet to be given into the King's own hands, without being opened.* He repented it, no doubt, when he found he could make no use of it, its most essential contents being expressed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways discover: and this consideration consoled me for the loss: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards discovered the truth, which justified these conjectures.

Henry could have wished that I had practised upon the Queen of England and the prince her son, as I had on King James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations: but as, notwithstanding the reports which had been current, this princess remained still in Scotland, and would not arrive for some time, his Majesty did not think it a sufficient consideration for me to make a longer stay at London, whilst several other affairs almost as important, required my presence at Paris; and he was the first to press me to return as soon as possible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me. Envy and malice triumphs most over the absent. My friends lost yet more than myself from my not being among them. I intrusted Vaucelas, my brother-in-law, with the care of carrying the Queen of England the letters from their Majesties which I had brought for her; and I instructed him in what he should do and say, to obtain what the King desired to know concerning this princess.

Whilst I was thus very busily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres broke out afresh, and caused a fever, which retarded my departure for some days, and even prevented my writing as usual to the King. But as soon as I was some-

somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the King of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpose to receive me, and that he should be at Westminster ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased; because he proposed to go a hunting the same day, "to dissipate the uneasiness," added he very obligingly, "which he should feel for my de-"parture."

I attended his Majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour; which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's, Westminster, is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic Majesty with all possible marks of esteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so, as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France; but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that, by whatever person his most Christian Majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would sign it without any further discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner; said he considered this prince as his sole model as well as his friend; and protested, that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To shew me that he had not forgot any of his promises, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any intercession or access to him, from any of the subjects of the King of France; and required the same deference from the King of France; particularly

larly with regard to any Jesuits who might be found in disguise, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ships; he praised Henry extremely for having banished this order out of the kingdom, and said, that he advised him from his heart, never to be guilty of such an error as to recall them: he insisted on this article the most; for indeed he hated the Jesuits no less than he did Spain; and this aversion was increased, by his considering them as his personal enemies: nor did he appear perfectly satisfied till I had engaged, as absolutely as I could, to send these assurances, which he required of his Most Christian Majesty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the King and Queen of France, purely complimentary, in answer to those which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambassador was not slightly touched *.

Being furnished with these letters and the form of the treaty, I resolved to stay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all those gentlemen who were with me for this purpose, I departed from London, taking the same road as at my arrival. Sidney and the English Vice-admiral escorted me to the sea side, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land, and passage by sea.

But I should before have mentioned the presents which I made in England, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty. That to King James was six fine horses richly caparisoned, to which Henry added also another gift, which ought to be esteemed still more considerable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, and all respects the best and most complete horseman of the age; that to the Queen of England was a large and most beautiful Venetian glass, the golden frame of which was covered with

* Matthieu the historian says, the King of England made the Marquis of Rosny a present of a chain set with diamonds of great value.

diamonds; and that to the Prince of Wales was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewiſe with diamonds, a fencing-maſter, and vaulter. The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Northumberland, in a word, all thoſe whom I have occaſionally mentioned, beſides ſome others, were preſented, ſome with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; ſeveral ladies alſo received rings and pearl necklaces. The value of all theſe preſents, including 12,000 crowns which I left with Beaumont to be diſtributed in certain places, amounted to 60,000 crowns *. Henry's views in making ſo many rich preſents, a conſiderable part of which were even continued as penſions to ſome Engliſh Lords, were to retain them, and attach them more ſtrongly to his intereſts. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to diſtribute them ſo as to avoid giving any cauſe of jealouſy between theſe Engliſh Lords, and to prevent King James himſelf from conceiving any jealouſy of my intention. The precaution which I uſed for this purpoſe was, to aſk his permiſſion to acknowledge, by ſome ſmall gratuities, the ſervices I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers Coterets the 9th of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he paſſed ſome days here, during which the Queen made a journey to Leiſſe. I did not take any reſt at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readineſs to embark the next day. The weather was ſo bad in the night, that the Engliſh Vice-admiral very ſeriouſly adviſed me to alter my reſolution. The leaſt delay appeared no leſs inſupportable to all my retinue than to myſelf, eſpe-

* A Frank crown is three livres, equal to 2 s. 6 d. This whole ſum is only ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds Sterling.

cially to those city-sparks who find themselves out of their element when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all pressed me with such eagerness immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with so favourable a reception, that I consented to sail as soon as we could. Repentance soon followed our precipitation: we met with a violent tempest, that we were in the utmost danger: we were the whole day in crossing the channel, and so extremely sea-sick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a vessel with only twenty men attacked us, we must have surrendered.

A second letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it necessary for me not to lose a moment. At this place, I quitted those who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go where-ever they thought proper. His Majesty had taken care to order post-horses to be in readiness in all the proper places upon the road, in ease my health would permit me to make use of them. I therefore took post at Abbeville, at three o' clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day, at eight in the morning, at Villers-Coterets.

I would not take any repose till I had first received the honour of saluting his Majesty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the forest, where he proposed to take an airing on some horses that were to be brought there to him. Belliévre, Villeroi, De Maisses, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the Count de Soissons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a distance, he said, as De Maisses afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have so much "wished to see; he is at last arrived; my cousin "the Count of Soissons must be called, that he "may be present at the brief relation he will give "us of what he has seen, heard, said, and done, "of which he has wrote me nothing. Let my "horses

" horſes be ſent back; I ſhall not now go into the " foreſt."

His Majeſty would not ſuffer me to kneel to kiſs his hand, but embraced me twice very cloſely. His firſt words were, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with my ſervices; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he ſhould take pleaſure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be ſomewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity ſhould preſent, to diſcourſe on ſo many different matters. I began with the perſon of the King of England, which I deſcribed to him nearly the ſame as I have already in theſe memoirs. I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expreſſed for his Majeſty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his deſire to render himſelf worthy of the compariſon. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inſpire him, and how far he was from eſpouſing the party of the revolted French Calviniſts. King James was ſenſible, from his own ſituation, how very unfit this laſt procedure would have been, having ſo great a number of ſeditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cauſe him much trouble. I added, that if I had myſelf been diſpoſed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very ſerious enterpriſes. I mentioned the affair of the loſt diſpatch, and ſpoke my ſentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the King of England, and acquainted his Majeſty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my laſt audience, and, together with the form of the treaty ſigned by us both, I preſented to him the two letters from his Britannic Majeſty, and another letter wrote to his Majeſty, ſince my departure from London, by the Count of Beau-

mont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all those letters to him.

Beaumont in his letter acquainted the King, that the Queen of England, with her children, was instantly expected in London, from whence she would go directly to Windsor to reside there with the King; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factions with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the Duke of Brunswic, was said to be actually at Gravesend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic Majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that Count d'Aremberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions; not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidy, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

Beaumont wrote this from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded the deputies of the Low Countries would never consent to it, though the Emperor should be guarantee of it; because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, they had a general suspicion

ſpicion of all propoſitions wherein France and England were not concerned. He obſerved, that theſe deputies were likewiſe upon the point of returning home, with a reſolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic Majeſty had given them, that they ſhould not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permiſſion which James had given them to raiſe ſoldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my Lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as Colonel of theſe recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by ſaying, that, in order to be ſtill more perfectly informed of every thing that paſſed, and to remind the King of England of his promiſes if neceſſary, he was going himſelf to Windſor. I take no notice of thoſe paſſages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the higheſt praiſes to my conduct and my negotiation.

Villeroi having finiſhed the reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, couſin," ſaid Henry, addreſſing himſelf to the Count of Soiſſons, "what do you "think of all this? give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the Count did not deceive me. "Since "you require it of me," ſaid he, "I muſt ſay, that "I think the Marquis of Roſny has very great credit with the King of England, and that he is in a "marvellous good intelligence with the Engliſh, at "leaſt if his relation, and all which you have been "informed of, is true; for which reaſon he ought "to have brought much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty in a better form than that "which he has preſented to you, which is really "nothing more than a mere project of hopes and "fair words, without any certainty that they will "ever be executed." "What you have ſaid is "truly very fine and good," replied Henry: "nothing is ſo eaſy as to diſcover faults in the actions "of others." His Majeſty ſtill continued to ſpeak,

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as if to make my apology, and altogether my elogy. He said, I was the only person in France who with so limited a power, could have performed what I had: that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London; which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreseen and expected the difficulties with which I had struggled, and that he had not hoped I could have so easily conquered them; that he was perfectly satisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me carte-blanche. "Rosny," said he, "in "his conduct has given me an example, which con- "firms to me the truth of a Latin proverb, though "I do not know whether I speak it right, *Mitte sa- "pientem, et nihil dicas*; and I am certain, that, if "his presence should again become necessary on the "other side, he will always be ready to return, and "serve me with the same ability and address which "he has here shewn." I suppress great part of what, upon this occasion, the generous soul of Henry inspired him with for my defence: what gave me the most sensible satisfaction, and which I considered as infinitely superior to all the praises he bestowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praising me to my face; because he knew that those praises, instead of making me vain and less diligent, would only increase my desire of acting still better. These words silenced the Count of Soissons.

I then answered several questions which the King asked me, touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, on the character of the English, and what they thought of their new King. After this the conversation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumstantial relation of it, assured me that he approved of my conduct therein, considering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the escape of the criminal, to endeavour to

to excuſe him, or openly to vindicate him. I acquainted his Majeſty with the character of young Servin *, ſuch as I have already given. The King having twice aſked whether dinner was ready, went in to ſit down to table, having firſt directed Villeroi to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repoſe till the next day, as being what I muſt very much want, after having rode poſt, and that ſucceeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to ſerve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants were arrived; "and to-morrow morning," ſaid he, "we will renew our diſcourſe."

In the afternoon, the King took the airing in the foreſt which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at ſupper, he ſent me two excellent melons and four partridges; at the ſame time acquainting me, that I ſhould come to him early the next morning, before any of his counſellors were with him, which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dreſſed, and had breakfaſted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himſelf with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the caſtle, which was generally uſed for this diverſion. "Roſny," ſaid he, "we "will take a walk while the freſhneſs of the morn-"ing continues; I have ſome queſtions to aſk you, "and ſome matters to diſcuſs, on which I have "been thinking the whole night. I aroſe at four "o'clock, theſe things having preſſed my thoughts "ſo ſtrongly, that I have not been able to ſleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellièvre, Villeroi, and Sillery, having joined us, the King continued walking another hour with us

* L'Etoile makes mention of him. "It is ſurpriſing," ſays he, "how it could happen, that the plague ſhould find means to attack "ſo great a plague as he."

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four. Our mornings were generally ſpent in the ſame manner, during the three following days which his Majeſty paſſed at Villers-Coterets. In theſe converſations I gave him an exact and particular account of the moſt ſecret and important matters, with which he ſtill remained to be acquainted with.

I received ſeveral letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may ſerve as a ſupplement to the affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the Queen at London did not occaſion all that diſorder which had been apprehended: the diſcontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It ſeemed as though her ſudden change of ſituation and country had made as ſudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from thoſe of the royal dignity, ſhe became diſpoſed to pleaſures and amuſements, and ſeemed wholly engaged in them and nothing elſe: ſhe ſo entirely neglected or forgot the Spaniſh politics, as gave reaſon to believe ſhe had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them through the neceſſity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profeſſion of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princeſs repoſed the greateſt confidence, poſitively aſſured Beaumont ſhe was not ſo perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himſelf preſented to her, and made my excuſes to her for not having been able to ſtay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myſelf with the letters from their Majeſties.

During all this the Spaniſh ambaſſador, whoſe arrival in England had been ſo poſitively aſſerted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was ſo far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windſor, found himſelf at laſt obliged to demand without him his audience of the King,

who granted it. I am ignorant of what paſſed in it: I only know that he demanded a ſecond, for which the King made him ſuffer a thouſand delays, which, however, can only be attributed to this prince's diſtate of buſineſs, and his paſſion for the chace, which ſeemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time, his conduct and diſcourſe was ſo far from giving the Spaniſh partiſans any cauſe to deſpair, that, on the contrary, he appeared diſpoſed again to fall into his former irreſolution. Beaumont did not know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural indiſpoſition, or to the inſinuations of Cecil, who uſed all the means he poſſibly could to make him fail in the obſervance of his promiſes. Happily many new incidents concurred to ſupport this prince againſt all temptations of this kind, and the Spaniards were ſo imprudent in their conduct, as to be themſelves the principal cauſes of it.

No ſooner was the Spaniſh ambaſſador arrived in London (for he did at laſt arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs, were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, miſtruſts, and ſuſpicions. He ſoon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all thoſe whom he conſidered as neceſſary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spaniſh ſervice, as the ſtates had done in theirs. This would have been a deciſive ſtroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwiſe than with the aſſiſtance of her protectors, by retaining theſe troops in her own ſervice. All theſe proceedings of the Spaniard, being purſued with a ſpirit of pride and independence, were ſo much the more diſagreeable to James, as his natural weakneſs produced in him a repugnance to oppoſe them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambaſſador.

A whiſper was likewiſe currrent concerning a conſpiracy of the Engliſh Catholics * againſt James's perſon. Beaumont conſtantly treated this inſinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true ſtate of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakneſs and the meanneſs of its ſentiments, diſcover an unanſwerable argument to diſprove it.

But a more certain and undoubted conſpiracy was that of ſome Engliſh lords, who formed the deſign of ſtabbing the King. Their chiefs, for the deſign was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the inſtigation of Spain and the Archdukes, were Lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and ſeveral others of the principal ſervants, and even the intimate confidents of the late Queen, though they had appeared among the moſt forward to do homage to her ſucceſſor. Nevertheleſs Cecil was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the ſubject of much diſcourſe. A religious diſpute, which aroſe in the conference between the Proteſtants and Puritans, increaſed the diſorder. The converſation of the court turned entirely upon the diſputes and quarrels which happened between particular perſons. The Earl of Northumberland ſtruck Colonel Vere in the face, in preſence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the King's order, who was juſtly incenſed at ſo diſreſpectful and outragious an inſult. The Earl of Southampton and Lord Grey gave each other the lie in the Queen's preſence, and uſed ſeveral other atrocious expreſſions; but they were reconciled to the King by aſking pardon of the Queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without

* It produced a proclamation, whereby King James baniſhed the Jeſuits out of his dominions, *Mem. d'etat de Villeroi*, vol. 3. p. 217.

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any other satisfaction, they conversed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the King's name and authority preserves the honour of those who cannot vindicate it for themselves.

When from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all these public and private differences, I found the affair was in the most favourable situation I could desire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finishing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myself the honour of writing to his Britannic Majesty; I informed him, that the King of France had with pleasure ratified the plan concerted between his Majesty and me, and that he had sent the Count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his Majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment which I had before made him; I assured him, that by this I was so far from offending the King my master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I wrote at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the King, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty signed by his Majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that which should subsist between the ambassador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the subscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

Beaumont having received the treaty, aquainted the King of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian Majesty and me: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, signed and accomplished, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgments to his Britannic Majesty in a second letter: and to emply all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents, we imitated them in this respect, and even gave pensions to all the most distinguished persons in the court of King James; the best and most beautiful horses were industriously procured where-ever they could be found, and they were sent, together with magnificent furniture, as presents to this prince.

Thus was Spain disappointed in those great hopes she had conceived to our prejudice, from the accession of the King of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making those great armaments which she did this year. On the 27th of May, a squadron of twelve Spanish gallies, manned with three thousand soldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch vessels, which was the second loss of this kind that Spain had lately suffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this squadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve these misfortunes, made such preparations on every side for war, as spread a terror amongst all her neighbours. She made herself mistress of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and vessels in the mean time were building in the

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port of Liſbon, for the embarkation of twenty thouſand ſoldiers. This work was purſued with ſuch indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

Every one talked his own way about the occaſion of ſuch formidable preparations: ſome ſaid, that they were deſigned againſt Flanders, particularly Oſtend; others, that they were deſtined for the conqueſt of Barbary, becauſe the King of Cuſco having promiſed the council of Madrid to aſſiſt that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a ſupply of men and money, which that prince kept to himſelf, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many perſons were perſuaded that Spain had a deſign upon France itſelf: the firſt notice his Majeſty received of it, was at the ſame time that he was adviſed to be attentive to the caſtle of If, and to the iſlands on the coaſt of Marſeilles. I was then in England; his Majeſty wrote me an account of it; but did not ſeem to give much credit to thoſe informations, although he was not ignorant that the Duke of Savoy was very ſolicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewiſe that Spain thought this advice of the Duke's very intereſted; and the Pope gave him repeated aſſurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reaſons for not provoking this prince too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into conſideration, what was carrying on with King James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the ſame time; and his Majeſty took the part which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the ſtrict obſervation of diſcipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monſieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune ſhould not be taken away, was ſent into his government of Burgundy, with

with order to act in concert with Lesdiguieres, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the Duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, altho' the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious and long war which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However, the transportation of arms from France into Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault * caused four thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint-John De-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low-Countries, notwithstanding this order.

The long stay which was made by Doria on the coast of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another mystery that could not be found out, He had sailed for the coast of Villa Francha, as if with a design to take the three sons of the Duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice, only for an opportunity of being conveyed to Spain; their father, it was said, sent them there to be educated, and to be raised to the first dignities of the state †, the government of Milan, and the viceroyship of Naples and Sicily, being those he most eagerly panted after, probably because he flattered himself, that those titles would afford him an opportunity to snatch some part of those territories for himself. But every one was deceived; Doria passed by without landing or stopping at Villa-Francha: nevertheless, there were persons who continued to believe that it had been his design, but that his resentment for Savoy's not paying him those honours, nor esteeming him so highly as he thought

* Emerick Gobier de Barrault.

† The second of these princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbishop of Toledo and cardinal.

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he deſerved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the Duke of Savoy and him, that he ſhould act in this manner, to give the Duke a pretence for ſtaying longer at Nice, where, ſaid theſe conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had diſcovered the reaſon of his departure, to be an order which they ſuppoſed he had received from Spain to go and join his ſquadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards: or poſſibly the council of Madrid had nothing elſe in view, but to accuſtom her neighbours to preparation and motions, for which they could not gueſs the cauſe. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of ſome time longer at Nice, they paſſed on the twentieth of June within view of Marſeilles, without ſaluting the caſtle of If; their convoy conſiſted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, ſome other Spaniſh troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His Majeſty was the more attentive to their motions, becauſe he was informed that Hebert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the Count of Fuentes: the ſecret was diſcovered by a letter that Hebert wrote to his brother, who was a treaſurer of France in Languedoc. Theſe troops, as I was informed by his Majeſty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and paſſed the bridge of Greſin on the firſt of July; they conſiſted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a ſmall body of troops, with a view no doubt to haſten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the ſame month. The remainder of the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh troops that were drawn from Italy, conſiſted of four thouſand Milanois, commanded by the Count de Saint-George, who took the ſame rout.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies, by which the Archdukes received a great acceſſion of ſtrength, yet Henry was ſtill of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterpriſe upon Oſtend this year; they themſelves ſeemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being conſiderably diminiſhed. The thouſand horſe that attended the Duke of Aumale were reduced by deſertion to leſs than five hundred, and thoſe that remained were ſo great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be ſoon obliged to diſband them. Such was the ſituation of the United Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewiſe another advantage over their enemies; a ſmall number of Dutch veſſels who were going to load ſpices, meeting with fourteen Portugueſe galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chace, took five, in which they found great riches, and diſperſed the reſt.

Europe, during the courſe of this year, had not more tranquillity in the eaſt than the weſt. Mahomet III. to ſecure himſelf, as he thought, in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the receſſes of the ſeraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abuſed his authority: and was firſt informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that ſhewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the Sultana-mother, and the baniſhment of this Sultana herſelf, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own ſon, and the Sultana his wife to death,

death, and was himself seized with the plague, of which he died.

But it is now time to resume the affairs of the kingdom. His Majesty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this last place, and came to Paris, to attend my usual employments: these were to make the receivers-general of the districts, and other persons in office, bring in exact accounts; to cashier those who were convicted of any misdemeanour, as it happened to Palot a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to make a provision of sums necessary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of those that resided in foreign courts for this purpose; and lastly, by the mere force of frugality and œconomy, to enrich the treasury, by discharging all the debts his Majesty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the state, at the head of which his Majesty generally placed the pensions he allowed the Swiss cantons, and was always very solicitous to know if they were discharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more necessary the King thought it to soothe and manage them. He made a present of a suit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian resident at Paris; that republic earnestly requested it of him, and set so high a value upon this present, that they hung up the suit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was exposed to view, and served for a monument to posterity, of their veneration of a prince who was so justly famous for his military virtues.

As the new œconomy which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greatest part of those profits which the courtiers and other persons about the King drew from different places, and lessened the presents his Majesty made them from his own purse, they fell upon methods

to ſupply this deficiency; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of ſatisfying them, conſented ſo much the more willingly as it coſt him nothing; this was to prevail on his Majeſty to paſs innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them excluſively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promiſed profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among thoſe who thought they had a right to ſome favour from the King; intereſt gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately ſwarmed with thoſe petty monopolies *, which though ſingly of little conſequence, yet altogether were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the leaſt obſtruction produces miſchief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earneſt remonſtrances to the King on this ſubject; and therefore made no ſcruple to expoſe myſelf to the anger of the Count of Soiſſons, with whom, as I have already ſaid, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The Count of Soiſſons preſented a petition to the King at Fontainebleau, in which he propoſed that a grant ſhould be made him of fifteen pence upon every bale of goods exported; a deſign that muſt certainly have been ſuggeſted to him by ſome of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himſelf; nor did he know all the conſequences of it, at leaſt he aſſured the King, that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thouſand livres a-year; and ſo well perſuaded him of the truth of what he had aſſerted, that his Majeſty who thought himſelf obliged to beſtow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewiſe vanquiſhed by repeated importunities, granted his requeſt, without giving me, who

* Monopolies of all kinds are detrimental to the trade of nations, and leſſen the revenue of the crown.

was

was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther ſolicitations about it, cauſed an edict to be expedited for the Count, which he ſigned, and the ſeal was placed to it; but ſome remains of ſcruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully ſenſible of, made him, in granting this favour, reſerve a verbal condition, that it ſhould not exceed fifty thouſand livres, preſs too hard upon the people, nor be two great a burden upon trade.

That evening the King, reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have ſome ſuſpicion that he was impoſed upon: he wrote to me inſtantly, and propoſed the thing to me as an indifferent queſtion, without telling me what had paſſed, or naming any perſon. I knew not what to think of ſuch a demand, but ſetting myſelf to work, and, taking to my aſſiſtance the account of my cuſtoms and domain, and entries of proviſions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be leſs than three hundred thouſand crowns, and I could not but think it ſtill of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it ſeemed likely to ruin in Britanny, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his Majeſty. The King confeſſed to me all that had happened, with many marks of aſtoniſhment that his confidence had been thus abuſed. The true remedy had been to have cauſed the edict to be brought back, and have entirely ſuppreſſed it, as being obtained by a falſe pretence: but, that it might not be embroiled with the Count of Soiſſons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his Majeſty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourſe to another method, which was, to hinder the parliament from regiſtering the edict. All that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, was to ſend no letter with it, either under the King's hand or mine: this was

an agreement that had long been made between the King and the ſovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not regiſter any thing. I was certain however, and I told his Majeſty ſo, that this expedient would not preſerve me from the reſentment of the Count, and of the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, who I diſcovered was concerned in this buſineſs; but I reſolved to hold firm againſt the Count, provided his Majeſty would be proof likewiſe to the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, which he promiſed me, and added, that he would openly ſupport me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the Count of Soiſſons came to my houſe, and paid me many compliments, having, as he ſaid, occaſion for a *Maximilian de Bethune* at full length; he thought by ſhewing me great kindneſs, and condeſcending to be familiar with me, he ſhould eaſily obtain my ſignature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpoſe he demanded it. I anſwered coldly, pretending to be quit ignorant of the matter, that I never ſigned any thing without knowing what it was: the Count then found that he muſt have recourſe to other means; he acquainted me with what his Majeſty had lately done, for him, and ſaid, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the King, the ſovereign courts, and, me, the ſignature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Britanny, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration, I aſſumed an air ſtill more ſerious, and pretended to be greatly ſurpriſed that the King had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom reſolutions of ſuch conſequence were always made known; and from thence took occaſion to tell the Count, that an edict of this nature, which bore ſo hard upon the public intereſt, deſerving to be excepted

cepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myſelf, that therefore he muſt addreſs himſelf directly to his Majeſty, or bring me at leaſt an order ſigned by him, which would ſerve to juſtify me againſt reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myſelf, ſome time or other, for my compliance. The Count replied, with much bitterneſs, that I only made uſe of this extreme caution to ruin his deſign, and to break with him entirely; but finding theſe words could not alter my reſolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter ſomething between his teeth concerning our former quarrels, and he went to diſcharge his cholar at the houſe of the Marchioneſs de Verneuil.

This lady, although as much enraged with me as the Count of Soiſſons, was yet come to make me a viſit, juſt as I was leaving my cloſet to go to his Majeſty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have choſen a worſe time; the too eaſy King had juſt ſuffered a ſcore of edicts, all in the ſpirit of the firſt, to be extorted from him, and, to ſay the truth, of but little conſequence. I ſet out with a full reſolution to make a new attempt upon the King, in favour of the people who would be prevented by theſe extortions from paying the land-tax. The Marchioneſs aſking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty buſineſs, Madam," anſwered I in a paſſion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really was; "you are not the "laſt among thoſe that are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the ſixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what do you "intend to do with this?" ſaid ſhe. "I intend, "anſwered I, to make ſome remonſtrances to the "King upon it." "Truly," replied ſhe, no longer able to contain her ſpleen, "he will have little to "do to take your advice, and offend ſo many great "people. And on whom, pray, would you have

"the

" the King confer favours, if not on thoſe who are " mentioned in this writing, his couſins, friends, " and miſtreſs?" " What you ſay, Madam," replied I, " would be reaſonable enough, if his Ma- " jeſty took the money all out of his own purſe, " but to make a new levy upon the merchants, ar- " tiſts, labourers and countrymen, it will never do; " it is by them that the king and all of us are ſup- " ported, and 'tis enough that they provide for a " maſter, without having ſo many couſins, friends, " and miſtreſſes to maintain.*"

Madam de Verneuil loſt none of my words, ſhe dwelt particularly upon the laſt; and, in the rage, with which ſhe was tranſported, made uſe of them to form a thouſand wicked ſlanders. She flew immediately to the Count of Soiſſons, and told him, that I had ſaid the King had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him and his people if he could get rid of them. The Count, mad with rage, went the next morning and demanded a conference with the King. After a long enumeration of his ſervices, he told him, that I had ſo outragiouſly injured his honour, that he muſt abſolutely have my life, unleſs his Majeſty would himſelf do him juſtice. Henry, ſeeing him in ſuch violent emotion, aſked him with great compoſure, what I had done or ſaid; and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another perſon? The Count, not caring to enter into any explanation, replied, that if we were both together in his Majeſty's preſence, not all the reſpect he ought to have for a perſon who was dear to him ſhould hinder him from doing himſelf juſtice; and added, that what he had ſaid was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accu-

* This reaſoning will apply to all kingdoms where the public money is laviſhed on penſions: Theſe drones of ſtate ſuck the honey made by the induſtrious, and muſt, in the end, ruin any nation.

ſtomed

ſtomed to lie. "If that was the caſe, couſin," ſaid the King, in a voice ſuch as muſt naturally put him into confuſion, "you would not be like one "in your family; for we always produce your el- "der brother, in particular, as remarkable for this: "but ſince it was a report made to you, tell me "who made it, and what he ſaid, and then I ſhall "know what I ought to do, and will endeavour to "ſatisfy you if you are to be ſatisfied with reaſon." The Count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the perſon from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. "So then, couſin, anſwer- "ed the King, you excuſe yourſelf from anſwering "my queſtion, on account of an oath you have ta- "ken to the contrary; and I will likewiſe take an "oath to believe no more of your complaint, than "what Monſieur de Roſny himſelf ſhall acknow- "ledge to me; for I have as good an opinion of "his veracity, as you can poſſibly have of thoſe "who tell you theſe fine tales."

The Count of Soiſſons, when he went out of the King's preſence, diſcovered ſuch an exceſs of fury againſt me, that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to give me notice of it; which he did by Zamet and La Varenne, whom, at the ſame time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by ſome word or action given offence to the Count? I anſwered, that ever ſince the viſit I had received from the Count at the arſenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never ſpoke to him, or any of his people; that the Marchioneſs de Verneuil indeed had been at my houſe, but neither ſhe nor I had mentioned the Count. "Oh!" ſaid the King, when theſe words were repeated to him, "we need not doubt any longer "from whence this miſchief proceeds, ſince Ma- "dam de Verneuil is named; for ſhe is ſo full of "malice, and has ſuch a ready invention, that to "the leaſt word of Monſieur de Roſny ſhe would

"add

" add a hundred, nay, a thouſand ; but for all that, " this affair muſt not be neglected." The rage in which his Majeſty had ſeen the Count, gave him reaſon to apprehend that he would take ſome violent reſolution againſt me ; he therefore ſent La-Varenne to tell me, that I ſhould never ſtir out of my houſe without being well attended, and that he deſired I would ſpare nothing for my ſecurity ; adding, with great goodneſs, that all the expence I could be at in guarding myſelf would be far below what it would coſt him if he ſhould loſe me *.

I cannot quit the article of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council much more ancient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign veſſels that anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no more than what was paid by our veſſels in foreign ports ; nevertheleſs, it was with regret, and only by his Majeſty's expreſs orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of theſe exactions which was moſt likely to depreſs the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great oppoſition to the regiſtering them, and the Marechal d'Ornano beſtirred himſelf greatly, having money owing him from the ſtate, which had been charged upon that part for his re-

* L'Etoile's journal treats at large of this difference, which the King put an end to, by obliging the Count of Soiſſons to be contented with a letter of ſatisfaction which M. de Roſny wrote to him : and, according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the Count de Soiſſons and the Marquis de Roſny come into his apartment, and reconciled them, *ibid.* 592. De Thou alſo ſpeaks of it, b. 129. The ſteddineſs of M. de Roſny has procured him great commendations from our hiſtorians. " He had no conſideration for any thing, ſays father " Chalons, but the King's ſervice ; nor could any reſpect for perſons " of the greateſt quality, princes, or even the Queen herſelf, prevail " on him to make the leaſt conceſſion, where he thought the King's " intereſt or glory came in queſtion : this got him many enemies, " and was the cauſe that, after the King's death, the Queen took the " management of affairs out of his hands." Hiſt. de Fr. vol. 3. p. 255.

imburſement. The eſtabliſhment of commiſſioner-examiners, *lieutenant-particuliers*, *aſſeſſeurs criminels*, and other officers of juſtice, met with no leſs difficulty from the ſame court of Rouen, which more than any other oppoſed theſe new edicts; the laſt were made with an intention to ſatisfy and ſend back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in conſequence of theſe new regulations: probably it was the meeting with ſuch obſtacles as theſe to his deſigns, that had long made Henry ſolicitous to ſuppreſs the chamber of requeſts in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earneſtly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Toulouſe this year which continued to be ſuppreſſed notwithſtanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debate ran contrary to him.

The quarrel between the Count of Soiſſons and me made a great noiſe; but the King, to ſhew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendſhip, ſent me notice by Beringhen ſome days afterwards, that he intended to paſs by Roſny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I ſhould treat him there with his court. The princes, princeſſes, and the conſtable, were all that the King permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my gueſt: but the entertainment was diſturbed by an unforeſeen accident; the rivers were ſo much ſwelled by a ſudden ſtorm, that the offices of Roſny were overflowed *, the fruit ſpoiled, as well as the labour of the ſervants; the ladies were terrified, ſuppoſing the

* I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he ſays their Majeſties with great difficulty eſcaped the danger. "The King, "adds he, laughing, told M. de Roſny, that heaven and earth were "combined againſt him, and that he ought boldly to take care of "himſelf."

danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage, and which had been filled up to make the passage more commodious for his Majesty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Rosny, but neither were yet completed.

The waters did great damage for ten leagues about; but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

His Majesty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caen; he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, who was accused of carrying on correspondences with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremouille, whose kinsman he was, and gave it to Bellefonds. From Caen the King passed through Rouen †, where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the Princess Catharine had proposed for the Duke of Rhoan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by Monsieur and Madam de Fervaques, for Monsieur de Laval the son of that lady. His Majesty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

The affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his Majesty had lately taken; and the Duke of Bouillon had likewise a share * in it. He was not yet quite discouraged from his attempts upon the King of England: he was still in the court

† "The King was attacked at Rouen with so violent a looseness, "as to void blood, which the physicians said came from his having "eaten too great a quantity of raw oysters." L'Etoile, *anno* 1603.

* It is in vain to endeavour at any justification of the Duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the Count d'Auvergne, b. 5.

of

of the Elector Palatine, whom he adviſed to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he ſaid, of the true religion; and had the boldneſs, without aſking his Majeſty's leave, to ſolicit Errard, his firſt engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortreſs for him. To ſerve his ambition every thing ſeemed lawful, and ſacred as well as profane things were proſtituted to that purpoſe. He publiſhed a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a moſt outragious manner, againſt the whole body of the Proteſtants: he had already drawn great advantages from this ſtratagem, and ſeconded it on his ſide by counterfeiting perfectly well great uneaſineſs and apprehenſion of the miſeries which hung over the Proteſtants, in conſequence of the new reſolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed theſe libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been compoſed by his friends, and ſent into England with a view to hinder his Majeſty from ſucceeding in his endeavours to gain King James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed perſons that Bouillon always impoſed; and on them indeed his pains were not all caſt away. An aſſembly of Proteſtants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occaſion of the King's laſt indiſpoſition, in which Du-Pleſſis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewiſe inſolent and preſumptuous; for the praiſes he gave his hero ſeemed to be all at the King's expence, whom he calumniated without any reſpect to his perſon or dignity.

Of all theſe aſſemblies none made ſo much noiſe as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The Elector Palatine and the Duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, cauſed queſtions to be propoſed in it which had a ſtrong tendency to the rekindling a war. The miniſter Ferrier, by their orders, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail

upon the Proteſtants to inſert among their articles of confeſſion that the Pope is the antichriſt: ſurely it could not be called a ſpirit of religion, but rather of diſcord and intrigue, that preſided at the deciſion of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewiſe propoſed to ſend printed to all the univerſities of Europe. As ſoon as the King was informed of this ſcandalous proceeding, he ſent me orders from Fontainbleau, where he had reſided ſince his return from Normandy, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the Proteſtants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith * from being received. Villeroi likewiſe, by his commands, preſſed me to exert myſelf on this occaſion. I wrote immediately to Saint Germain † and Deſbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made uſe of to ſhew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they ſaw was reſolved not to ſpare them, I know not, but the article in queſtion was at length ſuppreſſed. The Pope, I believe, was under great apprehenſions about it; for he was ſo extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his Majeſty could appeaſe him: and probably it was to this incident that the Jeſuits owed their re-eſtabliſhment in France. The Holy Father had the conſolation to ſee his dominions filled with an acceſſion of monks of every kind, Auguſtins reformed, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant friars; and amongſt the other ſex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and Carmelites: ſo many religious orders were never inſtituted at one time as in this year.

The boldneſs of the Proteſtants on this occaſion will not appear ſo ſurpriſing, if it be conſidered,

* See the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, b. 2. p. 296. where we find ſteps taken by De-Mornay to procure the reception of this abſurd tenet.

† Deputies from the Calviniſt party to reſide at court, according to the cuſtom of that time.

that

that they had even gone greater lengths upon another when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the King, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time; but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La-Tremouille, Lesdiguieres, and Du-Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated every where, that I sacrificed on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I must honestly own I lost my labour.

While these complaints of the Protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his Majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The King was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the Duke of Montpensier, Cardinal Joyeuse, and the Duke of Epernon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen? I answered only with a bow. "We "were talking, said the King, of the government "of Poitou, and they have advised me to give it "to you; could you have imagined this? they be- "ing such good Catholics, and you such an obsti- "nate Huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after

ter the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that all his estates were situated in the provinces he was at present governor of, he released Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to resign this government to the King, that he might dispose of it in favour of one of his natural children.

Henry likewise insisted upon my guessing his motives for preferring me to this post, rather than any other person, or even those that were so near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his Majesty had of my fidelity and ardour for his service. The King replied, that his true reason for giving it me, was, because I was an Huguenot, but a reasonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the Protestants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly satisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no less so, since I was capable of inspiring them with more dutiful sentiments, of giving them just notions of their King, and of teaching them to rely on his goodness, and to respect and love his person; and that by suffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to pass through my hands, the authority which the Duke of Bouillon still preserved amongst them might be destroyed. His Majesty added (without doubt because these three gentlemen, who were also joined by Brissac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were present) that although he felt so strong an affection for his religion, as to wish with the utmost ardour to see it embraced by all the Huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made use of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Mountauban especially to free him from the oppression of Spain, to assist him in supporting his just claims, and to save even his life from the fury of the leaguers;

leaguers; that, on this account, however diſcontented he might be with thoſe cities for diſcovering leſs duty and affection for him than formerly, yet, nevertheleſs, he thought himſelf obliged in honour to continue the ſame gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The King repeated ſeveral inſtances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon," ſaid he, "was there to excite them to ſedition;" and could not hinder himſelf from ſaying, that at this very time the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the Proteſtants.

After this his Majeſty told me, that I might treat directly with Meſſieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the intereſt of the ſtate, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations to give this government to me than to his own children. All that were preſent ſaid ſomething in approbation of what his Majeſty had done, and in praiſe of me; and I made my acknowledgement to all, either in words, or by low bows. I diſpatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne, and he tranſacted the buſineſs with ſuch prudence, that by a ſeaſonable preſent of a thouſand crowns to thoſe whoſe advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thouſand crowns. Upon their reſignation, Du Freſne ſent me, on the ſixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtellerudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thouſand livres; namely, twelve thouſand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already poſſeſſed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, eſpecially Gergeau, on account of the garriſons; and eighteen thouſand livres from that of Poitou: in this ſum, however, I have always included my ſa-

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laries for the two posts of superintendent of the fortifications, and of the works.

I must not omit giving some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff-manufactures, and especially silk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty easy matter not only to supply silks for our home-consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but also to carry on a considerable trade with foreigners for this merchandise. For this purpose, all that is necessary, said they, is to give encouragement to silk-weavers to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silk worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for those sort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the King was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I remember that one day when his Majesty did me the honour to visit me at the arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," said he, to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion, "I "know not what whim this is that you have taken "in your head, to oppose a scheme so well calcu-"lated to enrich and embellish the kingdom, to "root out idleness from among the people, and "which I should find so much satisfaction in com-"pleting." I replied, that his last reason had so much weight with me, that if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk

manufacture, I ſhould content myſelf with repreſenting to his Majeſty that he would purchaſe this ſatisfaction at rather too high a price, and deſtroy by it that which he propoſed to himſelf in the execution of thoſe great deſigns, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the King of England; but that I intreated him not to be offended with me if I preſumed to tell him, that I could not, as he did, ſee either glory or utility reſulting from this eſtabliſhment. I then aſked him, if he would permit me to give him my reaſons for thinking ſo differently from him? "I give you leave, ſaid he, but "upon condition, that you afterwards hear mine, "which, I am perſuaded, are more convincing than "yours." I then made the following obſervations to his Majeſty.

That it was through a wiſe diſpenſation of providence, which deſigned that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, ſhould be obliged, by their common neceſſities, to have an intercourſe with each other; this country was fitted to produce one thing and that another, excluſively of all the reſt: France had the good fortune to be ſo favourably diſtinguiſhed in this diſtribution of benefits, that no country probably except Egypt ſo univerſally abounded with whatever ſupplied the neceſſities, or contributed merely to the conveniencies of life for the reſt of the world; her corn, grain, and pulſe, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, ſalt, wool, oil, dying drugs, that immenſe quantity of cattle, great and ſmall, which uſually ſerve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the ſcore of any of theſe advantages, but even to diſpute with them thoſe which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

It is certain, that her climate refuſes ſilk: the ſpring begins too late, and an exceſſive moiſture almoſt always prevails; and this inconvenience, which

is abſolutely irremediable, affects not only the ſilk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewiſe the mulberry-trees that theſe inſects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is neceſſary in the ſeaſon wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great; it will be five years at leaſt before there can be any certainty of their coming to perfection, during which we risk the loſs of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are theſe difficulties, which ought to diſſuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which they do not render doubtful but impoſſible, a real loſs to us? That is the queſtion.

A country life affords ſo many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle, but thoſe who reſolve againſt all work; therefore it is neceſſary to begin, by curing people of this lazy diſpoſition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of ſilk for an employment? firſt, they leave one profeſſion, which brings them in a certain and ſufficient income, for another, where their gains are caſual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former; becauſe it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, ſuch as agriculture is, conſidered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon ſilk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous conſequences of ſuffering the country-people to be thus employed; it has been a common obſervation, at all times and in all places, that the beſt ſoldiers are found amongſt the families of robuſt, laborious, and nervous workmen: if, inſtead of theſe, we inliſt men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has ſtrength to perform, we ſhall be ſoon convince &

vinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his Majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and force of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it absolutely necessary to hinder from degenerating or being depressed.

At the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the state, among those of the city we introduce luxury with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagancy, which is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery conceal the manners of weak women.

The objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconveniency that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandises, they would be convinced, that the best thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of cloaths and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. * That necessity which

* Many edicts of this kind were issued out at different times during the reign of Henry IV. against which the dealers in silk at Paris pre-

which obliges us to dreſs in one ſort of ſtuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of fancy; and the price that is ſet upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to conſider, though but with the ſlighteſt attention, the ſource of what is called the faſhion, we ſhould find to our ſhame and confuſion, that a ſmall number of perſons, and thoſe the moſt deſpicable of a great city, which incloſes all ſorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we ſhould feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compaſſion we have for fools, that theſe very men diſpoſe nevertheleſs of our purſes, and keep us enſlaved to their caprices.

But ſilk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with reſpect to diamonds, jewels, ſtatues, and pictures, if it be conſidered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and ſilver: we muſt likewiſe take into conſideration, equipages, kitchen furniture, moveables, and every thing in which theſe metals are made uſe of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance

ſented many uſeful remonſtrances to the King and M. de Roſny. The memoirs for the hiſtory of France relate in what manner that miniſter received the Sieur Henriot, who ſpoke for them, a good old merchant, whoſe manners and dreſs bore the marks of ſimplicity and plainneſs of the tradeſmen of former times. — "The next day," ſays the writer of theſe Memoirs, "they waited on M. de Sully, "who anſwered them only with diſdain and ridicule; for Henriot "having put one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately "raiſed him up; and having turned him round, the better to ſurvey "his old faſhioned dreſs, being a ſhort holiday gown, lined with taf-"fety, his jacket, and the reſt of his cloaths, ornamented with ſilks "of different kinds, in the manner they were formerly wore by mer-"chants," he ſaid to him, "Honeſt friend, what reaſon can you "and your company have to complain, when you are much finer than "I am? Is not this damask, this taffety? &c. And after turning "them into ridicule, ſent them away without giving them any other "ſatisfaction; which made them ſay, as they were returning, The "ſervant is ruder and haughtier than his maſter." Vol. 2. p. 278.

that

that prevails in France, the ſums ſquandered fooliſhly in gardens, buildings, coſtly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages ſet up to auction, what is there that wants no reformation? We cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the leaſt neceſſity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endleſs digreſſion; theſe two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parſimony, ſeem only to have been brought into the world, to deſtroy both the one and the other. Theſe are the only people that know what it is to be rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be ſeen by the manner in which they ſpend it: the old chancellors, firſt preſidents, counſellors of ſtate, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find thoſe who now fill their places, and reſemble them in nothing but their titles *.

I

* Though ſilk and other materials of luxury, are in ſtrictneſs no otherwiſe good or bad, than according to the good or bad uſe made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purpoſes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. The rigid defenders of the Chriſtian doctrines do, and always will eſpouſe his ſentiments: but it muſt be acknowledged, that the politicians of the preſent times, even thoſe who are moſt ſevere, think differently; they find nothing concluſive in thoſe examples of antiquity which are produced againſt luxury, even in reſpect to the times from which they are taken, much leſs in regard to the preſent. According to their opinion, other cauſes brought about thoſe revolutions which were attributed to it; which cauſes having now loſt their force, ſuch revolutions do not, nor can they happen again, the increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe, occaſioned by the mines of thoſe metals, diſcovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the laſt two centuries, has introduced by its natural conſequence luxury or ſuperfluity, which makes the neceſſary exchange againſt the

I ſaid every thing I could think of on this ſubject, that carried with it any force, to bring the King over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your arguments are very ſtrong," ſaid he to me; "and I would rather chooſe to fight the "King of Spain in three pitched battles, than engage all theſe people of the law, the offices, and "the city, eſpecially their wives and daughters, "whom you have brought upon my back, with "all your whimſical regulations." "Then it is "your pleaſure, Sire," replied I, "that I ſhould "ſpeak to you no more upon this ſubject: however, time and experience will convince you, "that France is not fitted for theſe gewgaws" I was obliged to content myſelf with endeavouring only to prevail upon the King to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole encloſure, for the new buildings he projected for his ſilk manufactories. I repreſented to him, that he would one day deſtroy what it would coſt him ſo much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a deſign, far more noble and juſt, the Tournelles

the redundance of money, otherwiſe an uſeleſs drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the ſyſtems of government, and left no means of aggrandiſing any ſtate except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury: no inconveniences ariſe from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford: beſides experience demonſtrate, more clearly than reaſoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, ſubordination, or a military ſpirit.

As to what relates to ſilk ſhould we even ſuppoſe with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reaſoning will nevertheleſs be imperfect, as he ſeems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one ſhould ſtill remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be ſent for conviction to our manufactures of ſilks at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in ſpite of what our author ſays in this place, the eſtabliſhment of the manufactures of ſtuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to ſpeak in praiſe of him. See on this

Tournelles had been deſtined for another building of a very different kind *. "As things ſhall fall "out," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him, that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his houſe, was ready.

It was not, I confeſs, without deep regret, that I ſaw ſuch large ſums of money ſquandered, which might have been employed to ſo many uſeful purpoſes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his miſtreſſes, and hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thouſand crowns. a ſum ſufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thouſand foot: I could not, though I riſqued the danger of loſing his affections, be ſilent upon this ſubject. He commanded me to give ſix thouſand livres to Madam de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchaſe, at this price, that domeſtic quiet which was ſo often interrupted by his wife and his miſtreſs; but, fortunately for him, he eſcaped any broils this year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the Queen was again with child, but it was afterwards found to be a miſtake; which the King did me the honour to inform me of.

The colony that was ſent to Canada this year, was among the number of thoſe things that had not my approbation: there was no kind of riches to be expected from all thoſe countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of

this article L'Eſſay politique ſur le commerce, chap. 9. p. 105. ſecond edit. 1736.

* The building here meant, was intended to be a magnificent ſquare, of ſeventy two fathom on every ſide, which was to be called the *ſquare of France*; eight ſtreets were to have opened into it, of eight toiſes, in breadth, bearing the names of ſo many provinces. The deſign for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a ſtop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *royal ſquare*.

latitude

latitude. His Majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the Sieur Du-Mont *.

BOOK XVII.

I Began this year, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was to present their Majesties with two purses of silver medals.

* See in the Septenary, the description of a voyage made to Canada by the Sieur Du-Mont. There is also a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again mistaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to L'Essai politique sur le commerce.

Liberty and protection these two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flourishing state, may, in another sense, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to say, as the author of these Memoirs remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe should be excluded from it, but that it should be indiscriminately shared amongst them all: and that the method of carrying it on to the most general advantage, is by exclusive privileges, granted not to private persons, but to whole companies acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget observing here, that the first company for carrying on a trade to the East Indies was established in France, under the reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerrard le-Roy. The edict of its establishment, which bears date the 1st of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and sixth articles are something remarkable, it being therein said, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the necessary funds, the disunion amongst the members, and all the other causes, which have so often since occasioned the destruction of this institution, prevented its having the proposed effect at that time: It was reserved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more solid and durable basis. The history of this company, the many advantages whereof are at present more known than ever, would carry me too far; and moreover is to be found already in many good books.

When

When I went to pay them the accuſtomed compliments on the firſt day of the new year, I came into their chamber ſo early in the morning that I found them ſtill in bed. Beſides the purſe of ſilver, I had cauſed two purſes of gold medals to be ſtruck, which they received with great pleaſure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and La Varenne, coming that moment into the room, the converſation turned entirely upon theſe medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in antient hiſtory concerning Darius * and Zopyrus. The deſign was the more agreeable to the King, as he found it affect the malecontents of France in ſuch a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His Majeſty the next day made me a preſent of his picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the Queen ſent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value.

The death of the Ducheſs of Bar, his Majeſty's only † ſiſter, was the firſt intereſting event to the court

† As an explanation of theſe medals would be of little conſequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any other years. Thoſe who intereſt themſelves in ſubjects of this nature, may ſee the ſeries of theſe medals, vol. 2. p. 6. of the old Memoirs, where they are collected by the author.

* The ſuſpicion ſome conceived of this Princeſs having been poiſoned, was entirely groundleſs: her death was attributed by others to the potions ſhe took to make her pregnant: it rather ſeems to have been occaſioned from her phyſicians having treated her as being with child, though ſhe was not. Andrew du Laurens, whom the King ſent to her, was not miſtaken in this reſpect, as the reſt were; but the Princeſs herſelf was ſo firmly perſuaded of her being with child, by the extreme deſire ſhe had to find it ſo, that ſhe refuſed to take any of the medicines preſcribed by that phyſician; imagining he wanted to ſave her life, at the expence of the child's ſhe believed herſelf to have conceived; whereas ſhe was not at all ſolicitous about the preſervation of her own life, provided that of the ſuppoſed infant could be ſaved. She perſiſted in this notion and theſe ſentiments till the laſt moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared du Laurens had been extremely right in his judgement; that inſtead of a real pregnancy, her illneſs was occaſioned by an inward tumour or ſwelling,

court this year: Henry appeared greatly afflicted at it; he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do so likewise, but also the first gentlemen, and officers of his bed-chamber, the grand master, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his household;

which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflammation.

This Princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new married woman spoken of, she used to make it her wish, that they might love their husbands as affectionately as she loved hers. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus into Deus*.

Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major.
Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem.

Her corpse was carried to Verdôme, and deposited by her mother's, Queen Jane of Albret. The Pope had at length granted the dispensation, which had been so long solicited, but the Duchess died before it arrived in London.

Henry IV. took it much amiss, that the Pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on the death of his sister, only spoke to him of his Holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who had died out of the bosom of the church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breaths his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of heaven to any sinner whatever; "I have not," added he, the least "doubt of my sister's being saved." De Thou, and Chronol. Septen. anno 1604.

What Amelot de la Houssay advances in his notes on Cardinal D'Ossat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for this notion, that the design of the journey the Duke of Bar took to Rome, was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage, than to oppose it; but that the Pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on. The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons, formerly called, the Queen's palace, because it had belonged to Queen Catharine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her grand-daughter, Christina of Lorrain; but by reason of Queen Catharine's debts, it was sold in 1601, and bought by the Duchess of Bar. It was sold again in 1684, for one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts, to the Count of Soissons, whose daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to Prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of Prince Eugene.

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the ſame regulation was obſerved in the Queen's family.

Before the Ducheſs of Bar left France, ſhe had contracted ſome debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt this princeſs had been prevented only by death from diſcharging them, ſince ſhe had ſent jewels from Lorrain to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a ſeizure of her houſes, furniture, and other effects. Her houſes were, a palace at Paris, a houſe at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint-Germain, which the King her brother had given her; and, among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and cloſets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the King wiſhed to have for that purpoſe; but they had made the Ducheſs's debts ſo conſiderable, that he did not think it fit to deſire them till they were all cleared. Theſe debts amounted to twenty thouſand livres *.

I was afterwards commiſſioned by his Majeſty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princeſs: that which rendered the execution of this employment very difficult, beſides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the ſpecifying of thoſe that the King of France, and the Duke of Bar had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the Princeſs had pawned in Paris. Madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the Princeſs was poſſeſſed of, either before or after her arrival in Lorrain, and of what her moveables in France conſiſted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was regiſtered with great exactneſs, in the preſence of two or three members of the council, named by his Majeſty, and the Duke of Lorrain's commiſſioners; and

* This ſum is little more than eight hundred pounds, ſter. which ſhows how ſcarce money was in thoſe days.

this done, each of the two princes took poſſeſſion of thoſe effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The Ducheſs's palace at Paris was, by the King, deſtined to be ſold, becauſe part of the money for which it was firſt purchaſed was not yet paid; and the ſum produced by this ſale was ſufficient to ſatisfy the firſt owner of it, and all the other creditors. The King gave the houſe of Fontainebleau to the Queen, and that at St. Germain to the Marchioneſs of Verneuil. But as this ſale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding ſureties, it was, by their conſent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels ſhould be depoſited in my hands, without any other ſecurity than my word: they remained there till the following year, when the Queen having taken them, I was diſcharged by a writing, dated 28th June, 1605, and ſigned by Des-Marquets and Bontempts. I ſhall now proceed to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, which I have promiſed to give ſome account of.

Notwithſtanding the arret that ſeemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever ſettling again in France, yet they had found means to engage the court in their intereſts, and to make, even in his Majeſty's council, ſuch a great number of protectors, whoſe voices, joined to the earneſt and almoſt continual ſolicitations of the Pope, the houſe of Lorrain, and many other perſons, both within and without the kingdom, ſo greatly ſtrengthened their party, that it was not poſſible for Henry to reſiſt any longer; and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that he yielded without much reluctance. Some Jeſuits who had gained acceſs to his perſon on account of what had paſſed the preceding year, during his journey to Metz, behaved with ſo much addreſs, and made ſuch advantage of that permiſſion, that

Henry

Henry began to see them with pleasure *, and even to admit them familiarly to his presence. Those who were thus sent to try their fortune, and who, we may be assured, had been chosen with all the discernment of a society that understood mankind perfectly well, were the fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for father Gonthier did not yet shew himself; his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not yet wanted.

The Jesuits being thus secure of great part of the court, flattered themselves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakest party, or such as would not contradict a proposal they knew to be agreeable to the King, they presented a petition in form to his Majesty; who having in effect taken a resolution very favourable for them, ordered the constable one day to assemble a council at his house, composed of the Chancellor, Messieurs de Chateau-neuf, Pontcarré, Villeroi, Maisses, the President de Thou, Calignon, Jeannin, Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from La-Varenne, the most zealous solicitor the Jesuits had, the society's proposals, and what arguments they could offer to support them; to

* The favourable reception the Jesuits met with at court and in Paris was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; those who are named here were excellent in that respect. We shall soon have occasion to speak of Father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of those who the most effectually assisted the Pope's nuncio in procuring the re-establishment of the Jesuits. This Jesuit putting Henry IV. in mind of his promise to recall that order at a proper time, said to him. "Sire, your time is now come; it is nine "months since you made this promise, and women are delivered at "the end of nine months." "True, Father Mayo," answered that Prince, "but don't you know things go longer than women do," Chronol. Septen. anno 1603.

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deliberate upon them; and to bring him an exact account of what passed *.

His Majesty would have been very well satisfied to have had me of this council, and his reason for not naming me to the constable among the others, was (as he told Oserai, the first groom of his bedchamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) because he believed this commission would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his Majesty so much surprize, that this council should be held without me, accompanied with all those treacherous praises which envy and malice make use of on certain occasions, that he laid the Prince under a necessity of telling him I should be there likewise. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me

* The parliament of Paris having been informed of the King's resolution touching the recal of the Jesuits, sent the first President de Harley as their deputy to his Majesty, to present their remonstrances against it. The president spoke to the King with great vehemence, the substance of his speech may be seen in De Thou, who after having related, as an eye witness, what passed on this occasion between the King and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of, *The King's answer to the remonstrance of the parliament*: and which is a continued series of reproaches from that Prince to the first President, and of praises of the Jesuits: whereas the only answer the King made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the solicitude they discovered for the preservation of his life, and that he would take all necessary measures not to run himself into any dangers. The length and spirit of this writing testify in favour of M. de Thou; but on the other side, this answer of Henry IV. whether true or fictitious, is set, forth in the 4th volume of Villeroi's state memoirs, p. 400. and confirmed by Matthieu, that Prince's historiographer, whom Henry IV. himself furnished with memoirs of his history, vol. II. book iii. On this authority, which is of great weight, Father Daniel has cited it in his history of France, in folio, vol. 3. p. 1939. These things would induce one to believe this was the real answer of Henry IV. at least in substance; and M. de Thou agrees, that after the King's answer, which contained an order to register his edict, the parliament having made a farther attempt to avoid registering it, his Majesty sent for them a second time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards sent Andrew Hurault de Maisses, one of his secretaries of state, to the parliament, to cause his edict to be registered without any modification.

only

only answerable for all the inconveniencies which they foresaw might equally attend a denial or grant of the Jesuits request; for every one knew it was a nice affair. I guessed Sillery's motive for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my suspicions were fully confirmed.

The council being assembled, and myself present, as one of the members, the question was put to the vote; when Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery spoke for the others, and said, that these gentlemen, as well as himself, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this question, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of state, and the King's inclinations than any that were present. I was already not too well disposed towards Sillery, and this stroke put me quite out of humour with him: instead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I answered to his meaning, and that without any disguise. I told him, that I saw no reason for altering a custom so generally received, as that of voting according to rank, especially on a subject that my sentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be suspected of partiality; unless it was with a design to give the world a disadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many that were present expected to have an opportunity of doing; and had even done it before-hand, by groundless charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and added in plainer terms, that although I should vote first, yet I would not give the person that spoke to me so great an advantage as he seemed to hope for; but that I would do nothing till I had first consulted my oracle. And, in reality, I was resolved to have a conference with his Majesty, before any resolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then," said Sillery, smiling maliciously, and affecting ignorance

norance of the meaning of my laſt words, "that "we muſt wait for your opinion till you have ta- "ken a journey to the banks of the Seine, four "leagues from hence." Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the Proteſtants had their aſſemblies. "Monſieur," replied I, "your enigma "is not very obſcure; however, I aſſure you, that "as in religious matters, not men, but the words "of God, are my oracles, ſo in affairs of ſtate, "I am guided only by the voice and the will of "the King; which I intend to be particularly "informed of, before any thing be determined "upon a buſineſs of this importance." Then addreſſing myſelf to the whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice ſomewhat raiſed, that great inconveniencies muſt infallibly be the conſequences of a precipitate reſolution in this caſe.

After this diſcourſe, which might be taken for that act of deliberation I had juſt before declined, the conſtable taking advantage of the hint I had furniſhed him with, and pleaſed likewiſe with having an opportunity to do me ſome ſervice, for, ever ſince that he had received from me in the affair of Marechal Biron, his former prejudice againſt me was changed into a ſincere affection, ſaid, that he was entirely of my opinion, as to the neceſſity there was of knowing the particular inclinations of his Majeſty, before any thing was reſolved on; and added, that it would not even be improper to deſire him to be preſent at their debates, if it was only to put a ſtop to thoſe little heats and animoſities, that had already begun to appear in our firſt ſitting. Villeroi ſhewing an impatience to proceed, which ſurpriſed every one that knew his diſpoſition, ſaid, that ſince this affair could no otherwiſe be terminated than by the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, it was needleſs to protract it any longer; and, after giving all the weight he could to his Holineſs's interpoſition, and anſwering for the

faithful performance of the promiſes made by the ſociety, he explained the motives of the King's conduct in this affair, who had not, he ſaid, referred it to a council, the members of which were all appointed by himſelf, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking upon himſelf the annulling, by his authority, ſo ſolemn an arret of parliament as that againſt the Jeſuits; and concluded, by complaiſantly ſaying, that it was fit his Majeſty ſhould be ſpared the diſagreeable neceſſity of deciding ſolely this queſtion. Villeroi certainly highly honoured us all by this ſpeech; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroi had done ours; he ſhook his head, and ſaid, that if his Majeſty's deſign had been ſuch as Villeroi had repreſented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the deciſion of the parliament, as likewiſe the examination of the Jeſuits propoſals; and hence taking occaſion to give his own ſentiments of the matter, he added, that if the King would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwiſe, and the danger that would reſult from it both to the ſtate and his own perſon, this was the only part he could take, namely to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not ſpeaking like a courtier: but neither his advice nor that of Villeroi was followed. The reſt of the counſellors declared, by a ſingle word, that they thought it neceſſary his Majeſty ſhould be applied to, before they proceeded any farther; and this was the end of our firſt ſitting.

The next day I had a private conference with his Majeſty; and the firſt thing I brought upon the carpet being the debates on the preceding evening, I perceived the King expected I ſhould tell him my ſentiments of them. I did not heſitate a moment as to the part I ſhould take, and truth obliges me to confeſs, it was not very favourable for the Je-

fuits *. I told his Majeſty, that I could not poſſibly comprehend how, after an arret of parliament publiſhed by his order, and for a cauſe as neceſſary as juſt, he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſtill prejudiced in favour of an order, from which both himſelf and the ſtate had nothing but miſchief to expect. Here I could not help bringing the King of England to his remembrance; and, having no intention to protract my diſcourſe to any length, I contented myſelf with barely entreating him to diſpenſe with my aſſiſting at ſuch hateful deliberations; or, if not, to let me know his will preciſely, and command me ſo abſolutely to regulate my vote according to it, that I might find my excuſe in the neceſſity of obeying him. "Well, ſaid Henry, "ſince we are alone, and you have leiſure to diſ-"courſe on this matter, tell me freely what it is "you fear from the re-eſtabliſhment of this ſocie-"ty, and afterwards I will tell you what I hope "from it, to the end that we may judge whoſe "arguments have the moſt weight." I would ſtill have excuſed myſelf from this taſk, ſaying, that it was abſolutely needleſs, ſince his Majeſty had already taken his reſolution. But he replied, that that ſhould not hinder him from paying ſome regard to my reaſons; and commanded me ſo poſitively to enter into this diſcuſſion, that I could no longer refuſe to ſatify him.

The public has no advantage to hope from the reſtoration of the Jeſuits in France, which it may not promiſe itſelf from any other religious order; and for the excluſion of the Jeſuits there are particular reaſons ariſing from the inconveniencies which follow from their eſtabliſhment in this kingdom. Their reaſons and inconveniencies are reducible to

* It is ſaid in the manuſcript of the King's library, which we have quoted before, that Meſſ. de Sully, de Bouillon, de Maupeou, &c. did all they were able to divert the King from this reſolution.

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four heads, which are immediately ſeen to be of the laſt importance; religion, the conduct of government with reſpect to foreign nations, the interior government of the kingdom, and laſtly the perſon of the King Let us now ſpeak of the firſt: the only ſure fonndation upon which the ſyſtem of government, which the council will henceforth follow, can be ſupported, is union and peace between the two religions prevailing in France: the Jeſuits muſt be ſuppoſed, by thoſe who favour them, to promote this peace and union; but in truth, this can be leſs expected from them than from any other men. Their firſt ſtatute places them in ſuch a blind ſubjection to their general. or rather to the Pope, that, though as particular men they might have the moſt pure and pacific intention, they can move only by the will of theſe two ſuperiors, of whom the Pope has a great deal of miſchief in his power; and their general is always either a Spaniard born, or a dependent upon Spain. Now it cannot be imagined, that the Pope, and the general of the Jeſuits, will ever contentedly ſee the Proteſtant religion forming a diſtinct intereſt in France; it muſt therefore be, that the Jeſuits, filled with the notions of Rome, men likewiſe of dexterity and intelligence, and, to complete their character, jealous of the honour of their own party, will, by their confeſſions, their ſermons, their books, and their converſation, keep up a perpetual ſchiſm among the people; whence will enſue diſcord and contention between the different members of the body politic, which will ſoon or late produce ſuch another civil war, as that from which we are got free.

Nor are they leſs capable of diſturbing our concord with foreign nations, which is the ſecond reaſon for which good policy would oppoſe their revocation; the Pope either favouring Spain by inclination, or depending againſt his will upon that crown, particularly ſince the Spaniards laſt invaded

Italy, and the great view of Spain being the deſtruction of the French monarchy, when we conſider that the Jeſuits are connected with both the Pope and the Spaniards, by principles, cuſtom, and religion, what can be concluded, but that France will have in her boſom a body of men always ready to take part with her enemies? Here religion comes again into the queſtion: the ſcheme formed by Henry, for the glory and tranquillity of Europe in general, requires, that at ſome time he ſhould ſend an army into Italy capable of ſetting the Pope free, even without his own conſent, from the ſhackles in which he is kept by the power of Spain; in this deſign the help of the Proteſtants will be neceſſary, without which nothing can be done againſt the Spaniards: but the Jeſuits will never like a ſcheme of general policy, which will make the Proteſtants important, and eſtabliſh them in Europe.

Rather than ſee the execution of ſuch a deſign, and become enemies to Spain as they muſt then do, they will endeavour to waſte the forces of the King upon his ſubjects, which is the third reaſon againſt recalling them; and what will produce almoſt as much diſorder in the government of the kingdom, their acceſs to the prince, and the influence which they will have over the exerciſe of his power, will enable them to commence another kind of war againſt the miniſters and men in office, under the ſuſpicion that they have not the ſame deſigns with themſelves. I reckon myſelf among thoſe who will be firſt ſacrificed to theſe new favourites. And to conclude, has not the King himſelf had a dreadful inſtance of their hatred, without giving them new opportunities of daggers and poiſons? and does he not know the reaſons for which the Jeſuits would have put another prince upon the throne of France in his place? ſuch a one as they hoped to make more eaſily concur in their ſchemes, both general and particular. If he had any doubt of it, I offer-

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ed to prove it evidently to him, by a paper ſent me from Rome againſt the Cardinal d'Oſſat, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently; and I then added a few reflections, with which that paper had ſupplied me.

The King anſwered me, that he ſhould like to ſee that paper, and ordered me to ſhew it him; but he remained invincible in his purpoſe, notwithſtanding all the reaſons that I could offer him. He told me, he had only two things to oppoſe to my diſcourſe, which he found I had formed by long premeditation; the firſt was, that it was natural for the Jeſuits to be devoted to Spain, the only power which had courted and careſſed them, when they were ſcorned or hated almoſt every where: that if they had found the ſame reception in France, or ſhould now begin to find it, they would ſoon forget Spain. For the truth of this he quoted Father Mayus, who had declared to him, as he told me, in the name of the whole ſociety, their ſincere attachment, and confirmed it with the ſtrongeſt oaths, ſubmitting that he and his aſſociates ſhould be conſidered as the moſt flagrant traitors, if his promiſes were not fulfilled.

The King added, that theſe oaths and promiſes perhaps would not ſo fully put me to ſilence, but that I might have ſomething to reply; but that a ſenſe of his own intereſt, and care for the preſervation of his perſon *, determined him, he ſaid, not only to receive the Jeſuits to mercy, but to treat them well; for if he once reduced them to deſpair, and deprived them of all hopes of returning to France, there was nothing which they would not attempt againſt him. His Majeſty then dilated at large upon the credit, the artifices, and the expedients of that ſociety, by which he endeavoured to

* "*Ventre-ſaint-gris!*" ſaid Henry IV. to thoſe who endeavoured to diſſuade him from recalling the Jeſuits, "will you be anſwer-"able for my perſon?" which words ſtopped every one's mouth. See the King's MSS. vol. 9033.

perſuade

perſuade me, as he appeared himſelf perſuaded, that this ſociety, to whatever diſtance it might be driven by baniſhment, would have a thouſand means of practiſing on his life, and that he was deſirous to ſet himſelf free from perpetual diſquiets. He concluded with this expreſſion of Cæſar †, That it was better to put one's ſelf at once into the power of thoſe that one ſuſpects, than to be continually uſing precautions againſt them.

By theſe words, and the tone with which they were pronounced, I eaſily comprehended that his Majeſty had already reſolved upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, and that nothing could diſſuade him from it. Therefore, inſtead of oppoſing this reſolution by new objections, many of which, and thoſe very ſolid, I had ſtill to offer; I told him, that ſince he ſeemed to make the ſafety of his perſon, and the happineſs of his life, to depend upon the recalling this ſociety, that was ſufficient to make me labour for the ſucceſs of the affair as zealouſly as La-Varenne himſelf could do; and that, when the council again aſſembled, he ſhould have proofs of it. I ſaw joy ſparkle in the eyes of this prince at my words; and that the ſacrifice I made him might not go unrewarded, and that I might have no cauſe to apprehend the blame of what might happen ſhould fall upon me, he promiſed me two things that inſtant, and gave me his royal word for the faithful performance of them. One was, that neither the Jeſuits, nor any other perſon in the world, ſhould prevail upon him to declare war againſt the Proteſtants, unleſs I myſelf ſhould adviſe him to it: the other, that nothing ſhould be capable of making him remove from his perſon a miniſter, with whom,

† *Inſidias undique imminentes ſubire ſemel conſeſtim ſatius eſſe, quam cavere ſemper*, ſays Suetonius; which does not abſolutely ſignify, that the moſt unexpected death is the beſt, as the text in the old memoirs expreſſes it, and which is more conſiſtent with the context.

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be his religion what it would, he was well satisfied; "and especially," added he, with a most obliging familiarity, "a man of whom I can say, with the "utmost sincerity, what you the other day told "me Darius said of his Zopyrus *." He likewise assured me, that he would endeavour to make the Jesuits entertain the same sentiments of me that he did; and that I should know, before much time was past, in what manner he expected they should behave towards me.

I am not sure whether he did not exert himself on this occasion that very day; for I had a visit from La-Varenne the next morning, who desired as a favour, that a Jesuit, who he assured me, was still more a Frenchman by inclination than birth, might be allowed to pay his respects to me. I answered La-Varenne, that he well knew every one was sure of a polite reception at my house, and ecclesiastics especially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me to treat them with a distinguishing respect; and that if this was not the case, the character he gave me of this Jesuit was sufficient to insure his welcome. This French Jesuit was father Cotton †, whom he brought with him the next day as I went into the hall to give audiences as usual after dinner. The Jesuit approached me with all imaginable demonstration of veneration and respect, and was lavish in his praises of my great capacity, my services, and likewise upon the protection which he said he had been assured I was disposed to grant his society, intermingled with the most profound bows, and repeated assurances of gratitude, devotion, and obe-

* Zopyrus, a Persian satrape, having cut off his nose, ears, and lips, in order to execute a stratagem, which put Darius in possession of the city of Babylon, that Prince used to say, he would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopyrus. Herodotus, b. 5.

† Peter Cotton, born 1564, at Neronde, of one of the most distinguished families of Forez.

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dience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony, being ſolicitous to omit nothing the perſon and preſent occaſion required.

The next day the council, ſtill compoſed of the ſame members as before, aſſembled for the ſecond time; and no affair was ever more quickly diſpatched; without entering into any diſcuſſion, or making a needleſs diſplay of arguments in favour of a queſtion already decided, I ſaid in brief, that the preſent conjuncture of the times required, that the Jeſuits ſhould have a ſettlement in France. It was reſolved that they ſhould take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial who was not French by birth: this they ſwore to perform, and all the paſt was buried in oblivion. All I have to add is, that during the whole time I was extremely reſerved, and acted with great circumſpection, as well as with regard to Father Molina's opinion of grace that was publiſhed this year, as upon ſome propoſitions of three Jeſuits, which occaſioned high debates between thoſe that favoured, and thoſe that oppoſed them, eſpecially theſe two: that the Pope's being the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter was not a point of faith, and that confeſſion might be made by letters. On this occaſion, the Jeſuits were ſoon ſenſible how neceſſary the royal interpoſition in their favour was to them. Had they been given over to the parliament, the Sorbonne, the univerſities, and the moſt part of the biſhops, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the King did not abandon his new favourites; and even, at the ſolicitations of La-Varenne, gave them his caſtle of La-Fleche, where they ſoon founded a very fine college.

The reſtoration of the Jeſuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroi, Jeannin, Du-Perron, and above all to D'Oſſat, who had not neglected their intereſts at Rome, where he ſtill reſided to

manage his Majeſty's affairs at that court. And here it ſeems proper to introduce that memorial, which was addreſſed to me from Italy againſt this eccleſiaſtic, and which, as has been obſerved, I had already mentioned to the King.

His Majeſty was then gone to Chantilly, to ſpend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableneſs of the place, the conveniency for hunting, and other country-amuſements, which his phyſicians ſeemed to think neceſſary for his health. Upon ſome letters I wrote to him, in which I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from obſerving that by his abſence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of his phyſicians to prevent him. The ſame evening that he arrived, he remembered the memorial in queſtion, and aſked me for it, by which he only prevented me, it being my intention to ſhew it him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waiſtcoat, and I left it with him that he might examine it at his leiſure. I had made no alterations in it; and added nothing, except perhaps a few reflections which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the perſon againſt whom it was wrote his Majeſty's utmoſt diſpleaſure.

The author of this memorial, who had his reaſons for neither mentioning it in his own name, nor that of the perſon to whom it was addreſſed, endeavoured to prove, that D'Oſſat had prevaricated in every point of his commiſſion, and had accepted it with no other deſign, but to bring matters to that paſs, that the King ſhould be obliged to enter into the views of the Catholic leaguers of his council, and to purſue a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto conducted himſelf by. This new plan, which ſtill breathed the ſpirit of the league that gave it birth, conſiſted in uniting France in intereſt and friendſhip with the Pope,

Spain, the Archdukes, and Savoy, againſt all the Proteſtant powers of Europe in general, and the Proteſtants of this kingdom in particular; to make Henry concur with the Pope in placing a Catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United Provinces; to uſe his authority to procure a general ſubmiſſion to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the Auſtrian ſchemes, and all the maxims of the other ſide of the Alps. The Jeſuits were to undertake the taſk of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon a marriage between the children of France and Spain, and the firſt effects of it the dethroning of King James.

The author of this memorial, to prove that he did not bring theſe heavy accuſations againſt D'Oſſat like a mere declaimer, juſtified the truth of them by that Cardinal's own letters, as well thoſe I have formerly mentioned, as others which he had collected, and by his common diſcourſe at Rome, either in public, or to my brother, ambaſſador to that court, and others in private. He explained the myſtery of thoſe almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles the Holy Father made to the King's abſolution, and the marriage of the Princeſs his ſiſter: he ſhewed that they proceeded from D'Oſſat himſelf, who, during the whole time that thoſe affairs were depending, abuſed with impunity the confidence his maſter repoſed in him; and, to prevent the reproaches he had reaſon to expect from him, gave him to underſtand, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity of perſuading the court of Rome, that his Majeſty was of the ſame opinion, and that it was with great difficulty he ſuppreſſed thoſe reports which from time to time were ſpread to the contrary.

It is certain, that throughout this whole affair, D'Oſſat acted with great art, as likewiſe in the inſinuations he ſecretly gave the King, that Spain, with reſpect to him, had only the moſt pacific intentions,

tentions, for which the Pope was ready to be ſecurity. All this is ſo clear, and ſupported by the author with ſuch inconteſtable proofs, as forces belief, notwithſtanding that ſpirit of hatred and fury which it cannot be denied every part of this paper breathes againſt D'Oſſat; he is alſo reproached in it with aſſuming the character of a great politician, and a conſummate ſtateſman, when he had ſo much reaſon to bluſh for his ignorance and incapacity; and that in this eccleſiaſtic nothing was to be found but the meanneſs of his original, having, before his advancement to the purple, been a pedagogue and a footman, and owed all the ſeveral advantageous changes in his fortune to the fawning arts he practiſed on Villeroi, and to his ſlaviſhly ſerving the hatred of other Catholic leaguers to the Proteſtants. At the concluſion of this memorial, the author earneſtly intreats the perſon into whoſe hands it ſhould happen to fall, to ſhew it to his Majeſty.

Setting aſide all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which ſhew it came from a declared enemy, it muſt ſtill be confeſſed, that D'Oſſat could not eſcape the reproach of having ſlandered his ſovereign, and being ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to poſterity the means of convicting him of thoſe two crimes, in the letters which through vanity he cauſed to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV. as a prince who oppreſſed the clergy, deſtroyed the nobility, ruined the third eſtate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

Nor is truth leſs violated in thoſe furious exclamations he makes againſt the Proteſtants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, deteſtable, ſacrilegious, with which he brands a body that makes profeſſion to agree with him in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and have the ſame veneration for

the divine writings in which they are contained, the Apoſtles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer?

As to his political errors, though in D'Oſſat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the leſs palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the houſe of Auſtria were in a manner poſted up throughout all Europe, he expoſed France to the danger of being the firſt victim of them, by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to ſupport her againſt this proud and inſolent monarchy. And what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, this deſtructive policy communicated itſelf, as if by contagion, to the greateſt part of thoſe who were employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wiſeſt as well as the ſmalleſt party *.

It

* This ſyſtem of politics has not been productive of the miſchiefs M. de Sully apprehended it would occaſion; on the contrary, the event of it has been as favourable as it poſſibly could have been. It is nevertheleſs true, and will in ſome degree be a juſtification of our author's manner of reaſoning on this occaſion, that if the execution of theſe deſigns, of which the deſtruction of the Proteſtant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than Cardinal de Richelieu, the ſucceſs of it would not only have been doubtful; but if an attempt of ſo great conſequence as this had by a- by means miſcarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful ſituation ſhe was in during the reign of the children of Henry II.

Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every reſpect follow the plan attributed to D'Oſſat, Villeroi, &c. ſince during his whole life he was engaged in war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular reſources on which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's memoirs, made him take in, and in ſome degree reconcile both theſe oppoſite ſyſtems, by entering into the deſign of weakening the houſe of Auſtria, in purſuance of the one; and of deſtroying Calvaniſm in France, according to the other of them. I don't know of any one inſtance that ſo evidently proves, as this does, what a ſingle man is capable of. The Proteſtants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themſelves, after having remained undiſturbed full thirty years, were, almoſt at once, brought into an entire ſubjection;

It was this policy that, in the month of April this year, expoſed Villeroi to one of the greateſt mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The King, when he ſet out to Fontainebleau, where it was his cuſtom to keep his Eaſter, during which there was a ceſſation of all buſineſs in the council, took leave of his counſellors till the Sunday after Eaſter; but on Good Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me, that he had diſcovered ſome treaſonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to confer with me; for which purpoſe he would order poſt horſes to be ready for me at Ablon on Eaſter Sunday, that I might ſet out for Fontainebleau when the communion was over. I did ſo, and this was the affair in queſtion.

Villeroi had a clerk in his office named Nicolas L'Hote *, whoſe family, from father to ſon, had been attached to that of Villeroi; but the perſon of whom we are now ſpeaking, before he entered into his ſervice, had been ſecretary to the Count de la Rochepot, when he was ſent ambaſſador from France to Spain. L'Hote had wit, but of that ſort that ſtrongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his ſtay in Spain, he contracted an intimacy with the Spaniſh ſecretaries of ſtate, Don Juan Idiaques, Francheſes, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the ſecrets of the ambaſſador his maſter. When La Rochepot returned to France, L'Hote finding himſelf without any employment, ſolicited Villeroi, whoſe godſon he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entruſted to decypher his diſpatches; which was very agreeable to L'Hote, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his firſt trade with ſecurity.

ſubjection; this happened, becauſe on the one ſide, there was a Cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other ſide there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

* Or, as others ſay, Du Portail.

Barrault,

Barrault †, who ſucceeded the Count de la Rochepot in Spain, perceived, a ſhort time after, that the ſecrets of this prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to diſcover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular perſon, he intreated his Majeſty, in a ſhort letter addreſſed to himſelf, to look upon all the clerks in his ſecretaries offices, eſpecially thoſe belonging to Villeroi, as ſuſpected perſons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambaſſadors to the ſeveral courts of Europe, who were extremely aſtoniſhed, and complained to the King, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their diſpatches were known at theſe courts as ſoon as they received them from France, and very often before.

But neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any farther into the affair, till Barrault was one day accoſted by a Frenchman of Bourdeaux, a refugee in Spain, whoſe name was John de Leyré, but better known by that of Raſis, which he had borne when he was in the ſervice of the league, having been one * of the moſt active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himſelf comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his ſervices, which conſiſted in revealing ſome advices he ſtill received from his aſſociates in France, were rewarded by a good penſion that was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him, till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence

† Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambaſſador, that being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was repreſented, and ſeeing a Spaniſh actor throw him down who performed the character of Francis I. ſet his foot on his throat, and, in the moſt outragious terms, obliged him to aſk quarter, he got upon the ſtage, and in ſight of the whole houſe, ran the actor through the body with his ſword. Amelot's notes on D'Oſſat.

* L'Etoile ſays, he had been one of the ſixteen.

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than any they could get from Rafis, he ſoon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the diſcontinuance of his penſion, that his credit was ſunk all of a ſudden; and changing his battery that inſtant, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt dilligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himſelf with his ſpoils, not doubting but that if he ſhould ſucceed, this diſcovery would purchaſe his recal to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than thoſe he loſt in Spain.

Men educated in the arts of faction, and the myſtery of intrigue, have talents for theſe ſorts of diſcoveries, peculiar to themſelves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named John Blas, who had ſettled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner L'Hote had abuſed the confidence of his firſt maſter. Rafis, ſtruck with this hint, fixed, as by inſtinct on this man; having procured from other perſons information that he was actually one of Villeroi's ſecretaries, at that diſtance his ſagacity alone diſcovered to him what ſo many others upon the very ſpot were ignorant of.

His ſuſpicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Barrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained, but that care muſt be taken to prevent his having any ſuſpicion that he was diſcovered, on condition, that if his informations were found to be true, the King would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent penſion. Barrault thought the affair of ſuch importance, that he made no ſcruple to promiſe both. Rafis likewiſe exacted a promiſe from Barrault, and this with a view to his own ſafety, that he ſhould proceed ſlowly and cautiouſly in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the propoſals that had been made to him, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to none but the King. But Barrault underſtood this

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laſt requeſt as an exceſs of unneceſſary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his Majeſty's chief miniſters with the affair: and it was Villeroi himſelf that he informed of Rafis's offer and propoſals. Villeroi, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, ſent the diſpatches immediately to the King: but L'Hote being with his maſter when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpoſe; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Rafis had with ſo much reaſon been apprehenſive he would do; for he wrote inſtantly to his correſpondents in Spain, deſiring them to take all the neceſſary meaſures, and that without delay, to prevent Rafis from diſcovering more. This was the beſt method he could think of to ſecure himſelf, and to prevent any bad conſequences; and it would probably have ſucceeded, had the perſon concerned been any other than Rafis.

This man, when he received his pardon, which his Majeſty ſent him, together with his anſwers to his propoſals, obſerved that it was not ſigned by Lomenie, to whom the King would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had paſſed Villeroi's office, he went directly to the ambaſſador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer neceſſary to conceal any thing, he told him his reaſons for preſſing him to write only to the King, and to Villeroi leſs than any other perſon. He gave him, in a few words, all the informations he had promiſed him concerning L'Hote's intrigues; that done, he told Barrault, that, to avoid, if it was ſtill poſſible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmoſt expedition. And accordingly he mounted his horſe that moment; and it was happy for him that he

did so, for the next morning his house was invested by archers, who were sent after him with orders to make all possible haste, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rasis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, escaped with Descartes, Barrult's secretary, whom this ambassador permitted to accompany him, to present him in France. They never rested till they found themselves at Bayonne, from whence continuing their rout without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the King was at Fontainebleau, set out directly for that place.

On the road he met Villeroi, who was going from Fontainebleau to his house at Juvisy; and believing they ought not to conceal any thing from him, intreated him to have his clerk arrested by way of security; and that they might have the sole honour of the affair, offered to return themselves to Paris to arrest him. Villeroi neither approved of their proposal, nor the offer they made him of their persons; which, it must be confessed, was an instance of great imprudence; but he, doubtless, imagined, that it was not possible for L'Hote to escape. He told the two courtiers, that his clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to secure him; it being likewise his opinion, that his Majesty ought first to be spoke to about it; and that they risked nothing by this delay, provided they kept a profound silence. Surprised and dissatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their business to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with to him, to be given to his Majesty, which he did the next day.

The King had not yet received these packets on Easter-day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor by consequence knew of the two couriers arrival, or the name of him that betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had

been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroi ſuſpected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his Majeſty till the next morning. I found him up and dreſſed, though it was ſcarcely ſun-riſe. Barrault's informations had given him great uneaſineſs. This prince took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined to his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had juſt received from his ambaſſador. The diſpatches from London that had been loſt, coming into his mind, and all that I had ſaid when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroi's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealouſy and hatred, now appeared to him ſo well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroi. As he did not expect that Deſcartes and Rafis would arrive ſo ſoon, he ordered me to ſift this matter to the bottom, and uſe my utmoſt endeavours to find out the truth.

His Majeſty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make diſcoveries, when Villeroi arrived with the packets before mentioned. I was walking with the King in the long gallery of the garden of Pines *, and preparing to take leave of him for my return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroi came up to us. His countenance expreſſed all that grief the conſciouſneſs of having ſuch news to inform his Majeſty of muſt neceſſarily inſpire; and I may venture to ſay, that for a man who had ſome cauſe to wiſh to humble a rival, or at leaſt to rejoice in his humiliation, I ſympathiſed truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his Majeſty often looked at me, and preſſed my hand ſeveral times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name

* The gallery of Ulyſſes.

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of L'Hote, "And where is this L'Hote, your "clerk?" said his Majesty, with some emotion, "have you not caused him to be seized?" "I be- "lieve, Sire," replied Villeroi, in great consterna- tion, "that he is at my house, but he is not yet ar- "rested." "How!" returned Henry, in a rage, "you believe he is in your house, and yet you have "not ordered him to be seized! *Pardieu!* this is "great negligence indeed; how could you trifle "thus when you knew his treachery? this busi- "ness must be attended to immediately: go back "with all possible haste, and seize him yourself."

Villeroi departed in the utmost grief and confu- sion; and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris; when the next day I received a letter from his Majesty, who charged Descartes to tell me from him all that had passed. Since I find myself engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having supported such accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroi, in what remains to be said I shall follow the detail he himself gives of it, in the apology for his con- duct, which he thought it necessary to * make pu- blic. After having recounted, in a manner ad- vantageous for himself, all that had passed from the moment wherein he spoke to the two couri- ers, to the time that he went to the King at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following man- ner.

That at his return to his house, he found the Bishop of Chartres, and some other persons of dis- tinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his closet, the subject of their confer-

* See the original of this apology in Villeroi's memoirs of state, page 522. it bears date the 3d of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the sentiments and actions of this minister, it being strictly conformable to the accounts given of it by M. de Thou, the Chronol. Septen. Matthieu, and all other historians of credit of that time.

ence being the ſettling ſome points relating to the approaching ceremony of the order of the garter. When Deſcartes came to his apartment, to acquaint him that L'Hote, with Deſnots, were juſt arrived from Paris, his reſpect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hote, on his firſt entering the houſe, was ſaluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preſerved preſence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry, and would go and eat a morſel in the kitchen, only paſſed through it, telling the maitre d'hotel, that he would go to a public houſe and refreſh himſelf, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his maſter. Villeroi, after his company went away, aſked where L'Hote was? and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body thought he was, he thought he could not do better than ſend a ſervant to tell the maitre d'hotel, that he ſhould amuſe L'Hote with ſome diſcourſe, and not loſe ſight of him: he himſelf, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to deſire that he would lend him Du-Broc, lieutenant du prevot, who he intended ſhould arreſt him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themſelves at a window that looked into the court where the whole tranſaction was to paſs. But theſe precautions were too late, L'Hote had already eſcaped.

Theſe who judge favourably enough of Villeroi, to take the whole recital upon his word, will, at leaſt, probably exclaim here againſt the dilatory manner in which this ſecretary of ſtate executed theſe orders he had juſt received from the King's own mouth, and in a tone as abſolute as it was preſſing: he would be ſtill more culpable, if a thouſand circumſtances of L'Hote's eſcape, made public by Deſcartes and Raſis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would

would be certainly great injuſtice to believe every thing that on this occaſion was ſaid againſt Villeroi *; his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the Proteſtants, eſpecially, painted him in the blackeſt colours, not able to deny themſelves the pleaſure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the King's change of religion. But, on the other ſide, it is not fit to hold him clear of any blame, as thoſe that are devoted to him do, who inſiſt, that his whole conduct in this affair was juſtifiable. All my friends did not ſcruple to ſay publicly, that if ſuch an accident had happened in my family, I ſhould have been much more ſeverely reflected upon. The foreign ambaſſadors reſiding in France, and even the Pope's nuncio, came to my houſe at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after ſuch a diſcovery, their diſpatches muſt ſtill paſs through Villeroi's hands, their maſters would not venture to mention any thing of conſequence in them.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to ſend ſome archers after him, who purſued him ſo cloſely, that when he came to the ſide of the river Marne, with a Spaniard who accompanied him, and at a ſmall diſtance from a ferry-boat, he could not hope to reach it before they came up with him, and ſaw no other way to avoid their purſuit, than to throw himſelf into the river, thinking to ſwim over it; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard choſe rather to be taken; and he was brought back to Paris, with the body of L'Hote, which was drawn out of the water, Villeroi ſeem-

* De Thou remarks, that M. de Villeroi did not abſolutely eſcape ſuſpicion; but at the ſame time he ſays, that Henry IV. far from ſuffering himſelf to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortune, book cxxxii. P. Matthieu likewiſe aſſerts, that Henry IV. was too well acquainted with the fidelity of this miniſter to conceive the leaſt ſuſpicion againſt him, vol. II. b. iii. p. 637.

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ed truly afflicted, that they had not been able to ſeize his clerk alive; indeed he had reaſon to regret it; it was the only means he had left to ſtop the mouth of ſlander. He was the firſt to propoſe to me, in a letter he wrote to me about this affair, to have the carcaſe * treated with the utmoſt ignominy, and to puniſh the Spaniard in an exemplary manner.

All this could not appeaſe the King. He knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to behold Villeroi: and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to baniſh him from his preſence. But Villeroi threw himſelf at his Majeſty's feet, with ſo many marks of a profound ſorrow, ſhed tears in ſuch abundance, and made ſuch deep proteſtations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be perſuaded, but that he only feigned to believe him) and with that goodneſs, ſo natural to him, granted the pardon he ſo vehemently implored.

Matters were in this ſtate, when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his Majeſty, which I was

* The ſurgeons who examined his corpſe, were unanimouſly of opinion, if we may give credit to L'Etoile, that he had not been drowned: and, as there was no appearance of his having been ſtabbed or ſtrangled, they concluded he had been ſmothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septennaire takes no notice of this examination of the ſurgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars L'Hote's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally deſtroys the validity of the account given by L'Etoile, who, upon other occaſions, has given ſufficient proofs of his diſlike to M. de Villeroi, and yet could not avoid acknowledging, that Henry IV. did not treat M. de Villeroi with the more coldneſs on this account; "taking the trouble, ſays he, of going even to his houſe, to comfort him in his ſorrow, not diſcovering the leaſt ſigns of diffidence of him by reaſon of what had paſt, but ſeeming rather to put more truſt in him than before. It was therefore ſaid at court, that it was happy for him he had ſo good a maſter, ſince, in affairs of ſtate of ſo much conſequence, kings and princes uſually expect maſters ſhould be anſwerable for the acts of their ſervants." Anno 1604, p. 24.

indiſpenſably

indiſpenſably obliged to do, of the repreſentations made me by the foreign ambaſſadors. It was reſolved, that the cypher made uſe of by our ambaſſadors ſhould be changed; and the King now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villroi more exact, (I repeat the King's own words), more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and leſs haughty than he had formerly been. His Majeſty concerted with me a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, becauſe I was to make it public; this letter was brought to me at Paris by Perroton from the King, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to ſhew Villeroi. The contents were, that his Majeſty could not refuſe a pardon to the tears and entreaties of this ſecretary; that I ought no longer to diſtruſt him, ſince he did not; and that, in his preſent condition, charity required, that I ſhould write to him a letter to give him comfort, and an aſſurance of my friendſhip; and this he intreated me to do.

I ſeconded the good intentions of his Majeſty without any reluctance, and I may even ſay, with more ſincerity than he required of me, except that he could not prevail upon myſelf to write to Villeroi, that I held him entirely diſculpated. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery: I ſaid enough to afford him the means of perſuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accuſed. I gave him the hint of the declaration he publiſhed ſome days afterwards, and repreſented to him, that he ought to endeavour to ſhut the mouths of the Proteſtants, to whoſe cenſure he had laid himſelf open, and that the only method he could uſe for that purpoſe, was to relax a little of that violence he had ſhewn againſt them, by ſeeking to inſpire the Catholics with more benevolent ſentiments of them; and laſtly, to appear publicly the promoter of that re-

gulation

gulation I had so often proposed to him, to establish a perfect concord between these two bodies. If in this letter I added, that his absolute justification in the King's opinion, depended upon his future behaviour, and if as to what had passed I produced the example of Marechal Biron, it was only in obedience to the King's commands, who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

Villeroi, in his answer to my letter, thanked me for the advice I had given him, which he assured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he protested he would never forget. He confessed, that he ought not to have so blindly confided in a young man like L'Hote, and was candid enough to acknowledge, that although his conscience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime against the King, yet the error he had fallen into, was sufficient to cast a stain upon his reputation, which all the faithful services he was resolved to continue to render his Majesty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence he only said, that the great obligations L'Hote had received from him, were what made it so difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroi seldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almost always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occasion.

It appeared that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were spread of Villeroi by his enemies, since he wrote to him a short time afterwards, and gave him an account of a conversation between himself and Prada, of which L'Hote was the subject. Rafis had reason to be satisfied with a recompence that was made him; besides the sum of fifteen hundred and sixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratuity of a thousand crowns was bestowed on him, and all the conditions agreed to

by the ambaſſador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barralt himſelf, being paid in the laſt quarter of his penſion. Deſcartes repreſented to the King, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expence; and that, notwithſtanding all my letters, his maſter had not been able to get any thing from that quarter.

The paper upon religion, that has been mentioned before, conſiſted of ſome articles, which, if received by the Catholics and Proteſtants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by deſtroying that deteſtable prejudice which makes them load each other with the harſh accuſations of heſy and treaſon, impiety and idolatry. This paper I had drawn up with the conſent and approbation of his Majeſty: and I ſhewed it to him ſeveral times, in the preſence of the Biſhop of Evreux, Belliévre. Villeroi, Sillery, and Father Cotton.

If the Proteſtants do not believe all the Catholics profeſs, it cannot, at leaſt, be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewiſe; and that what we believe contains all that is eſſential in the Chriſtian religion, the Ten Commandments, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation of our common faith. Here then let us ſtop, and conſider the reſt as ſo many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are perſuaded, hat it is not only uſeleſs, but criminal, to ſearch into the ſecrets of the Almighty; but, we not only ſearch into his ſecrets, but ſet up ourſelves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions, and different degrees of knowledge, with relation to ſp culative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God. Let us leave to him alone the knowledge of his ſecrets, as well as the diſpenſations of his providence: let us allow to the ſovereign magiſtrate what the public good requires the power of puniſhing thoſe who

violate the laws of charity in any ſociety; for it belongs not to any human judicature to puniſh errors only cogniſable by God. Let us conſider this in another view; if our unhappineſs be ſuch, that the error is on our ſide, can the Catholics imagine, that they ſhall bring us into their notions by abuſe and perſecution? Compaſſion and tenderneſs are the only means that do any ſervice to religion, and the only means that religion dictates? the zeal which is ſo much boaſted, is only rage or obſtinacy, diſguiſed under a reputable appellation. This was the ground-work of my paper; nothing can be more plain or more true; but the power which men allow truth to have over them is very ſmall; and what is generally called reaſon in religion, if examined well, is, in moſt men, nothing more than their own paſſion.

If to reconcile the two religions is morally impoſſible, it may, with equal certainty, be ſaid to be politically impoſſible, ſince it cannot be done without the concurrence of the Pope, which cannot be expected, ſince it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII. who, of all the Popes that have for a long time ſat in the ſee of Rome, was moſt free from party-prejudices, and had more of that gentleneſs and compaſſion which the goſpel preſcribes to all its followers.

The holy Father was at this time ſo old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The King thought it neceſſary to ſend the Cardinals de Joyeuſe and de Sourdis to Rome, to manage the intereſts of the nation in the approaching conclave. His Majeſty, by the advice of Cardinal Joyeuſe, gave De Sourdis 9000 livres for his equipage, and the expence of his journey, with a penſion of 2400 crowns a year, during the time that he ſtaid at Rome upon his affairs.

One of the laſt actions of Clement VIII. was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time; which made it generally believed, that this Pope, finding himſelf

himself near his end, was desirous of giving his nephew Cardinal Aldobrandin a last proof of his affection, that, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne, by the great number of dependents on his family which were introduced into the conclave; or, at least, that the papal dignity should be conferred on one under whom this Cardinal might expect to govern. Two of these hats were to be given to France: and the choice of the two men, whom the King was to name to his holiness for this dignity, was the occasion of a strong intrigue at court, between the Bishop of Evreux and Seraphin Olivary *, on one side, and Messieurs de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, and de Marquemont on the other. The two last were supported by the interest of Bellièvre, Villeroi, Sillery, and all their friends; and I thought myself obliged to range myself on the side of Du-Perron and Olivary, the one being my bishop and particular friend, and the other remarkably distinguished for his eminent piety. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opposite party, Du-Perron and Olivary were preferred; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroi, as if he had really solicited his advancement; such is the custom of courts.

The pressing affairs that had obliged his Majesty to leave Chantilly, and at the beginning of spring, was the clearing and signing the common computations for the expence of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purse, as likewise of the fortifications, artillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for the transacting this business, his Majesty, to shun that crowd of petitioners who waited only for an opportunity of seeing us together, sent the young

* Seraphin Olivary Cazilla, an Italian by descent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria. Jerom de Villars. Denis de Marquemont, archbishop of Lyons; he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambassador from France to Rome.

Lomenie to tell me, that I need not come to the Louvre, becauſe he would be himſelf the next day at the Arſenal; and accordingly he came ſo early in the morning, that many of the officers, concerned in the affairs that were to be ſettled, all of whom I had ſent for, were not yet come. The number of theſe was far from being inconſiderable, governors of fortreſſes, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the ſeveral perſons belonging to the board of ordnance, overſeers of bridges and cauſeys, and others.

Henry had ſomething of conſequence to impart to me; I judged ſo by that deep melancholy which, notwithſtanding his endeavours to diſguiſe, appeared in his countenance and language, and alſo becauſe he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his ſecrets to me; and here the reader may expect to find one of thoſe remarkable converſations that he has already met with in theſe memoirs.

Our diſcourſe did not begin with the chief cauſes of his uneaſineſs. The heart, involved in its own vexation, has need, in the firſt inſtant, of the help of other objects to be diſintangled, eſpecially if with this vexation be mingled ſomething of confuſion. Therefore the Dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, with the reſt of that cabal, were the ſubject he firſt led to; theſe perſons having lately, through malice, united themſelves with the Prince of Condé, the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the family of d'Entragues; and thoſe from whom his Majeſty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable teſtimonies.

Having deſired this prince to allow me a whole day to conſider what advice it was moſt proper to give him on occaſion of this new intrigue, he changed his diſcourſe to his excurſion to Chantilly, his hunting; and afterwards he gave me an account of

of his loſſes at play, the money he laid out in preſents to his miſtreſſes, and other ſuperfluous expences, which were to have their place in the expence of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which altogether made up ſo conſiderable a ſum, that Henry, who ſecretly reproached himſelf for theſe extravagancies, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confuſion he expected my remonſtrances would give him, than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might alſo place there a gratuity of ſix thouſand crowns, which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my aſtoniſhment and grief at the increaſe of ſuch trifling expences. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by ſaying, that, after ſpending ſo great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himſelf now ſome indulgence in his pleaſures. I anſwered the King with my accuſtomed ſincerity and firmneſs, that what he ſaid was indeed very reaſonable and juſt, if, inſtead of thoſe great projects he had communicated to me, and which, by his orders, I had imparted to the King of England, he had reſolved to paſs the reſt of his life in the enervating pleaſures of luxury; but that if he ſtill retained any thoughts of purſuing his former ſchemes, he would deceive himſelf greatly if he ſuppoſed them compatable with ſuch expenſive amuſements; and therefore he muſt determine his choice upon the one or the other. I ſtopped at theſe words; Henry having ſilently liſtened to me while I was ſpeaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly abſorbed in thought. But the preſent diſpoſition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our firſt emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and rage; yet he contented himſelf with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and he commanded me, without troubling

troubling him any more, to carry the ſums he had mentioned to account.

Still, however, I was not diſcouraged. I knew the heart of this Prince as well as my own; I had always found him ſenſible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in ſo ſhort a time: inſtead, therefore, of having recourſe to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him, that I ſaw plainly the freedom I had formerly uſed in my repreſentations, was now become diſpleaſing to him, I again renewed the former ſubject, and talked to him of the meaſures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for thoſe glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the ſucceſs of the perſons he had employed there for that purpoſe had already found. I repeated, that it was uſeleſs to take all this trouble, if the money that ſhould be deſtined for thoſe great enterpriſes was ſquandered away on unneceſſary expences. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of thoſe deſigns, without having before hand forty-five millions of livres entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the ſtricteſt œconomy to keep together; and that with this ſum the war could not be ſupported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or burdening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation makes evident.

The maintenance of an army of fifty-thouſand foot, which is the leaſt that could be employed on this occaſion, will coſt nine hundred thouſand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year; ſix thouſand horſe, which is the number anſwerable to ſuch a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thouſand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thouſand livres a year; a train of artillery of forty pieces of cannon, cannot well be ſupplied at a leſs expence than a hundred and fifty thouſand

livres

livres a month, and fifteen hundred thouſand a year. Theſe three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year; and, by conſequence, near forty-two millions will be required for the three years together, on a ſuppoſition that the war will continue ſo long. The expence of making levies, of hiring carriages, of victual, and other things abſolutely neceſſary at the beginning of the war, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than a hundred and fifty thouſand livres; the waſte of that victual, with other unforeſeen expences in ammunition, muſt amount likewiſe to the ſame ſum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may eaſily be imagined, will be conſumed in extraordinary expences, too tedious to inſert here.

The King ſtill anſwered, that, before every thing could be in readineſs for the execution of theſe ſchemes, ſo many obſtacles would ariſe as to render all his endeavours uſeleſs: but while he ſpoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguiſhed, and that he approved of all I had ſaid to him. This he immediately after confeſſed, and, at the ſame time, declared, with a ſincerity truly commendable in an abſolute prince, that the obſtacles he had raiſed, and the ſevere things he had ſaid to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppreſſed with a more cruel affliction than that he at firſt complained of when he mentioned the traiterous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the Queen, and the Marchioneſs of Verneuil. Theſe words, unhappily, but too ſincerely, changed the ſubject of our converſation.

Henry's paſſion for Madamoiſelle d'Entragues was one of theſe unhappy diſeaſes of the mind, which, like a ſlow poiſon, preyed upon the principles of life; for the heart, attacked in its moſt ſenſible part, feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power nor the inclination to be freed from it. This

prince

prince suffered all the insolence, the caprices, and inequalities * of temper, that a proud and ambitious woman is capable of shewing. The Marchioness of Verneuil had wit enough to discover the power she had over the King; and this power she never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her scruples, and regretted the facility with which she had yielded to his desires; scruples which he resented with so much the more reason, as he was not ignorant that she forgot them entirely with persons of inferior rank. They now seldom met but to quarrel. Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender sympathy which forms the happiness of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occasioned almost continual uneasiness between him and the Queen his wife.

This princess, on her side, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a strong propensity to jealousy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herself upon her husband: and thus was this unhappy prince exposed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in separately conspiring to destroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were used to produce a reconciliation between the King and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almost at the same moment: the Queen

* He reproaches her on this account, in some of his letters, which have been preserved amongst the manuscripts in the King's library, and are of his own hand-writing. He writes to his lady in these terms: "I perceive from your letter, that neither your eyes, nor "your understanding are extremely clear, since you have taken what "I wrote to you in a quite different sense from what I intended. An "end must be put to these pertnesses, if you propose to keep the en-"tire possession of my love; for neither as a king or a gascon, can "I submit to them: besides, those who love sincerely as I do, expect "to be flattered, not scolded," &c. "You have promised me," says he in another letter, "to behave with more prudence; but you "must be sensible, the style of your other letter could not but give "me offence," &c. Amongst other original letters of Henry the Great, in possession of the present Duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his mistress. See the collection of the letters of Henry the Great, lately published.

began immediately to require a ſacrifice that Henry could not make her; and his refuſal, though ſoftened with the grant of every other wiſh, affected her ſo ſenſibly, that ſhe forgot all his compliances, and laboured herſelf to continue the cauſe of her own uneaſineſs, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a huſband, of all that tenderneſs and regard that conciliates affection and fixes inclination.

She was ſoon informed, that the King had given Madamoiſelle d'Entragues a promiſe of marriage; the original of which, as I have formerly mentioned, had been torn by me, but another had been drawn up by the King; and ſhe never ceaſed tormenting him till he had promiſed to get from his miſtreſs this paper, which all the eccleſiaſtics whom ſhe conſulted aſſured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length reſolved to deſire the Marchioneſs to reſtore it: and he demanded it of her in a manner that ſhewed he would not be refuſed. He had juſt left her when he came to the arſenal: the effort he had made upon himſelf to take this ſtep, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offenſive language with which his miſtreſs had accompanied her refuſal, had altogether produced that deep affliction in which I ſaw him.

The Marchioneſs of Verneuil, upon the firſt intimation that it was expected ſhe ſhould reſign the promiſe of marriage, threw herſelf into the moſt violent tranſport of rage imaginable, and told the King, inſolently, that he might ſeek it elſewhere. Henry, that he might finiſh at once all the harſh things he had to ſay to her, began to reproach her with her connections with the Count D'Auvergne her brother, and with the malecontents of the kingdom. She would not condeſcend to clear herſelf of this imputed crime, but aſſuming in her turn the language of reproach, ſhe told him, that it was not poſſible to live any longer with him; that as he

grew old, he grew jealous and ſuſpicious, and that ſhe would with joy break off a correſpondence for which ſhe had been too ill rewarded, to find any thing agreeable in it, and which rendered her, ſhe ſaid, the object of the public hatred. She carried her inſolence ſo far, as to ſpeak of the Queen in terms ſo contemptuous, that, if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of ſtriking her; and, that he might not be forced to commit ſuch an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, ſwearing, that he would make her reſtore the promiſe that had raiſed this ſtorm.

After giving me this account of the behaviour of his miſtreſs, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confeſſion I ſhould have much ſuſpected it) that he ſhould with difficulty bring himſelf to a reſolution of keeping the oath he had made in the firſt ſallies of his fury: and as it is uſual with lovers, who never have ſo ſtrong an inclination to praiſe the object of their paſſion, as after they have ſaid all the injurious things poſſible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his miſtreſs when out of thoſe capricious humours, and when thoſe ſudden guſts of paſſion had ſubſided. He praiſed, with a tranſport of delight, the charms of her converſation, her ſprightly wit, her repartees ſo poignant, yet ſo full of delicacy and ſpirit; and here indeed he had ſome foundation for his praiſes. The Queen's temper and manners were ſo different, that the contraſt made him ſtill more ſenſible of thoſe charms in his miſtreſs. "I find nothing "of all this at home," ſaid he to me; "I re- "ceive neither ſociety, amuſement, nor content "from my wife; her converſation is unpleaſing, "her temper harſh; ſhe never accomodates herſelf "to my humour, nor ſhares in any of my cares. "When I enter her apartment, and offer to ap-

"proach

"proach her with tenderneſs, or begin to talk familiarly with her, ſhe receives me with ſo cold "and forbidding an air, that I quit her in diſguſt, "and am obliged to ſeek conſolation elſewhere. "When my couſin Guiſe is at the Lovre, I have "recourſe to her converſation to baniſh my uneaſineſs; yet ſhe often tells me plain truths, but it "is with ſo good a grace, that I cannot be offended, and am forced to laugh with her." Such was the diſpoſition of this prince; and probably the Queen had only herſelf to blame, that ſhe had not been able to draw him out of the ſnares of her rival, or to diſengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry: at leaſt, he appeared to me to be abſolutely ſincere, and to have the beſt intentions imaginable, when he preſſed me, at the concluſion of this diſcourſe, to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon the Queen, his wife, to alter her behaviour, and accomodate herſelf more to his humour.

I was about to anſwer, for this ſubject ſeemed not yet half diſcuſſed, when we were interrupted by Meſſieurs de Vic, de Trigny, de Pilles, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his Majeſty, that the perſons whom he had ordered to attend him, had waited more than an hour, and that it was ſo late, it would be impoſſible to do all the buſineſs that morning. The King, after recommending ſecrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the reſt of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the Arſenal. The office of ſurveyor of the highways in Guienne was given, at my ſolicitation, to Biçoſe *, who was then in his ſervice. A commiſſioner was appointed to go and pull down the fort of Craon. Many other new diſpoſitions were made, which I ſhall not mention here.

The King did not fail to take the firſt opportunity to renew the converſation that had been ſo un-

* N. de Biçoſe, or Viſſouſe, he was ſecretary of the finances.

ſeaſonably interrupted: he had a reconciliation with the Queen ſo much at heart, that he wrote me billet after billet, enjoining me to undertake the taſk he had propoſed to me. I was ſenſible I run great hazards by obeying him: a too free and too ardent zeal on theſe occaſions with perſons of this rank, often expoſes the mediator to the reſentment of one of the parties, and ſometimes to that of both; beſides, to ſpeak candidly, this employment was leſs ſuitable to me than to any other perſon, theſe little broils being extremely diſagreeable to my temper.

I therefore reſolved to omit no perſuaſions which I thought capable to make Henry himſelf take the only reaſonable meaſures that were left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himſelf to regain his quiet, and fix it upon ſolid foundations; and all that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, was to exert the maſter and the King, oblige the Queen to keep her ill humours to herſelf, and forbear her reproaches, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections: and as to thoſe who by their malicious informations embittered the mind of this princeſs, to puniſh them ſeverely for the ſlighteſt word they dared to utter againſt him. I repreſented to this prince, that to ſecure his own peace, and the happineſs of his life, required only that he ſhould exert a very ſmall part of that courage and ſtrength of mind he had ſhewn on occaſions of a very different nature, that his reputation ſuffered from that tender fault in his conſtitution, almoſt incomprehenſible in ſo great a Prince. I told him, that a ſovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the ſole privilege of his high office, might exact from his ſubjects and family, as well for his own perſon, as his ſtate, that obedience ſo neceſſary to preſerve a juſt ſubordination and ſecure reſpect: and that it was abſolutely fit and juſt, that he ſhould chaſtiſe

chaſtiſe ſuch perſons who made it their buſineſs to deſtroy his domeſtic quiet. To the arguments I added the ſtrongeſt entreaties; I conjured Henry with lifted hands, and eyes ſwimming in tears, to employ his authority on this occaſion: the condition I ſaw him in filled me with the deepeſt concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared ſo ſtrongly averſe to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois, which being ſo different from that I preſſed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me: he ſeemed to be pleaſed with having an opportunity to tell me, that I perhaps was the true cauſe of all that had ſince happened. But there was nothing ſolid in this objection, if well examined; and when I diſſuaded his Majeſty from having recourſe to meaſures which might have produced dangerous conſequences (this I cannot ſpeak more clearly without betraying the ſecret I then vowed to keep) I had no intention to exclude him from taking ſuch gentle and eaſy methods as would be juſtifiable in the father of a family, to ſecure the tranquillity of his houſe. And Henry was reduced to the neceſſity of owning that if I were well acquainted with his diſpoſition, I would be convinced it was abſolutely out of his power to act with rigour towards perſons with whom he was accuſtomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

I had nothing left but to tell him, that then he muſt baniſh his miſtreſs, and give his wife all the ſatisfaction ſhe could require. But he prevented me, by ſaying, that he was ready, if it muſt be ſo, to remove all cauſe of complaint from the Queen, provided he could be aſſured, that, after making her ſo great a ſacrifice, he ſhould find her ſuch as he wiſhed: but that he foreſaw he ſhould be plagued all the remainder of his life, becauſe this princeſs was weak and obſtinate enough to believe, that, by acting in the manner ſhe did, ſhe followed the dictates

dictates of reaſon; when, in effect, ſhe was only governed by her paſſions. Henry, to convince me of the juſtneſs of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the Queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had ſaid before, upon the delight ſhe took in contradicting and teazing him; he only added, that ſhe had diſcovered the moſt violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before ſhe came into France, which it was not probable ſhe would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little ſenſibility ſhe had ſhewn to his tenderneſs and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with which he prevented all the occaſions ſhe might have for money, although he was not ignorant that ſhe never received any but to ſquander upon Leonora and her huſband, and ſome others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious ſtories, and, giving her bad advice: he took me to witneſs, that never queen of France had received ſo many and ſuch conſiderable grants; and it is certain, that I had been the firſt to ſolicit for them by my wife; and this I did with a view to peace, which is often purchaſed by theſe means, and always by the King's orders. By the rage this prince expreſſed againſt Conchini and his wife, whom he conſidered as the creatures of Spain, and ſpies of the Duke of Florence, no one, doubtleſs, would have choſen to be in the place of theſe two Italians; but this rage had no other conſequences than making him condemn himſelf for not following the advice I was free enough to give him when the Queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to paſs the Alps with her.

This long converſation concluded with the ſame requeſt as the preceding one had done, that I ſhould attempt, by the gentleſt methods I could think of, to perſuade the Queen to more condeſcenſion to her huſband's will, without giving her cauſe to ſuſpect that I acted by his orders. Henry uſed every argument which he thought likely to have

have any force with me, to engage me to undertake this task, telling me he did not doubt my success, having, on an occasion similar to this, prevailed upon the Queen to write a letter to him, when no one else could.

BOOK XVIII.

CHance afforded me a very favourable opportunity of executing the commission the King, at this time, gave me to the Queen. The most common method of making grants to this princess, was either to create edicts in her favour, as those which I have just mentioned, or by granting to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which succeeded through her interests and protection. These edicts and contracts always passed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my business to name, examine, and authorise the persons concerned.

The Queen was offered four and twenty thousand livres, to procure the grant of an edict concerning the officers of the excise in Languedoc. She sent D'Argouges * to shew me the edict, and acquaint me with the proposal. I told d'Argouges, that his Majesty might indeed, without doing the public any injustice, grant the favour the Queen required, but that I did not think she took a good opportunity to obtain it; the King appearing to me so discontented with some late proceedings of this princess, that I was afraid he would not have this complaisance for her, unless she first endeavoured to remove his displeasure; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and services on this occasion,

* Florent d'Argouges treasurer of the Queen's household: his son was first president of the parliament of Britany, and at the time of his death, a counsellor of state, and of the privy council.

if

if ſhe thought I could be of any uſe to her. The Queen, tempted by a ſum ſo conſiderable, accepted my offer; and promiſed every thing, believing that, by writing a ſubmiſſive letter to the King, as ſhe had done before, ſhe ſhould certainly ſucceed: accordingly ſhe wrote a letter, and ſent for me to ſhew it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

Never did any ſtep ſhe had taken coſt her ſo much. She had ſo great an averſion for the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, that ſhe would hardly deign to pronounce her name: but if any circumſtance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her geſtures, her motions, her very ſilence itſelf expreſſed, in the moſt lively manner, what ſhe would not ſay. As it was abſolutely neceſſary to accuſtom her to hear her rival ſpoken of, I put her upon this ſubject without reſerve; and then ſhe conſoled herſelf with giving the Marchioneſs the moſt ſevere epithets her imagination could furniſh her with; ſhe ſaid ſhe never could reſolve to look favourably upon a woman who had dared to bring herſelf in compariſon with her, and inculcated the ſame inſolence and want of reſpect for her and her children, who embroiled the ſtate by countenancing the malecontents, while the King, blinded by his paſſion took no care to reſtrain her.

I began by ſympathiſing with her in her griefs; but ſhewing her how much the cauſe of them was increaſed by her behaviour to the King, I made her ſo fully ſenſible of her fault, that ſhe wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and ſent it to the King, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impreſſion of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her an anſwer ſo tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the Queen in the ſame ſtrain: but unfortunately, juſt before this letter was delivered to her,

her emiſſaries had informed her, that the King was gone as uſual to the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, and inſinuated, that he was diverting himſelf with his miſtreſs at her credulity. She now forgot all that ſhe had promiſed, ſaid the King had deceived her; and, inſtead of writing, told the meſſenger who brought her his Majeſty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that ſhe need not write, ſince ſhe expected to ſee the King the next day, as he had promiſed her. The King was piqued, as it was natural he ſhould be, at this behaviour, and could not be ſilent: thoſe that heard what he ſaid in the firſt emotions of his anger, were not perſons who he could expect would be ſecret as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was ſaid on both ſides was reported to each of them; and matters were now in a worſe ſtate than before.

I was now engaged in a new affair, that of ſettling the debate; but, at moſt, I could expect only an interval of peace, which would continue no longer than others had done, while his Majeſty could not prevail upon himſelf to take the only effectual methods that remained. Theſe propoſals I again made him, when he ſent La-Varenne for me one day, to find, if poſſible, ſome remedy for his continual diſquiets, which became every day more inſupportable. I found him in the Orangerie of the Tuilleries, which a ſhower of rain had obliged him to enter; and as he was repeatedly preſſing me to tell him what he ſhould do, and, upon my refuſal, abſolutely commanded me to give him my advice, "Then oblige four or five perſons," ſaid I to him, "to paſs the ſea, and as many others the Alps." The King anſwered, that half of my counſel he could follow without any difficulty, ſince nothing hindered him from exerciſing ſome ſeverity upon thoſe ſeditious perſons who were conſpiring againſt him in his court, but that it was not the ſame with the Italians; becauſe that he not only had every thing to apprehend from that vindictive peo-

ple, but likewiſe by removing her favourites, he ſhould give ſuch offence to the Queen, as would render her for ever implacable. The King, after reflecting a little upon the propoſal I had made him, fell upon a very ſingular expedient, which was, to get this princeſs herſelf to conſent to what I had adviſed. He ſtopped there, as if the thing had really been poſſible, and inſiſted upon my uſing all my endeavours to work this miracle, promiſing me, that if I ſucceeded, he would from that moment renounce all his gallantries. After the King had given me this new commiſſion, he left me, as he ſaid, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone in the garden, the rain having ceaſed during our converſation.

I did not begin with the Queen, by aſking immediately a ſacrifice which I ſaw ſhe was not diſpoſed to make; I believed, that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their Majeſties; and this I laboured with ſo much aſſiduity to produce, that, at length, I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before; they agreed to forget all the paſt, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm laſted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amuſements were thought of every day: but ſome new ſtratagems of the Marchioneſs de Verneuil's having produced their ordinary effect, theſe good reſolutions vaniſhed again, and it became neceſſary, as a laſt reſource, to attempt the expedient propoſed by the King.

It may eaſily be figured, in what manner the Queen received a propoſal to ſend away, in ſome ſort diſgracefully, thoſe perſons of her houſhold whom ſhe loved the moſt. I expected ſhe would refuſe me, and I had no hopes but from my obſtinacy, in returning often to the charge: but this princeſs continued inflexible; and, to ſay the truth,

Henry,

Henry, on his ſide, ſo ill performed the promiſe he had given me, to reward this ſacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that ſhe drew from thence her beſt arguments for not yielding to mine.

What I had foreſeen, really happened; the Queen, inſtigated by thoſe whom I directly attacked, began to ſeek a quarrel even with me, and complained, that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power to ſeparate Henry from his miſtreſs. But I did not fail to obſerve to her, that ſhe performed her promiſe no better; and by that appearance of coldneſs and diſlike, which, after ſo many relapſes, the King looked upon as unſurmountable, ſhe was herſelf the cauſe of that evil ſhe imputed to me. I propoſed Madam de Guiſe to her, as an example ſhe ſhould follow, if ſhe ever hoped to fix the King's affection ſolely upon herſelf. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the reſpect I ought to have done to her letters: this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was leſs unreaſonable and imprudent, than any other of her favourites, by whom ſhe was abſolutely governed. To this complaint I anſwered, that it was indeed true, I did not always pay regard to letters which I ſaw written by the hand of any of her ſecretaries, becauſe they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjuſt ſolicitors who abuſed her name, or written with a view to draw her reſentment upon me, if I refuſed to comply with them; but as for thoſe written with her own hand, I defied any one to accuſe me with having neglected to anſwer them with the utmoſt deference and reſpect.

To ſay the truth, it was abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king, that I might not be carried by her unreaſonable importunities to any failure of reſpect or obedience; for

indeed there was no end of her demands: the expences of her houſehold alone coſt the King every year three hundred and forty-five thouſand livres; all the gratuities, contracts, and edicts, that were made in her favour, were not ſufficient to ſupply her other expences: ſhe, one day, in a fit of ill-humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather thoſe that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a neceſſity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was paſſed in every pariſh for her advantage; ſome receivers of Rouerque and Quercy being behind hand in their payments, the money was applied to her uſes; ſhe took upon herſelf to pay the nuptial expences of Santi, her Italian gardener, and aſked me for ſix hundred livres for that purpoſe: this was indeed but a trifling ſum; but by ſuch trifles as theſe one may judge of this princeſs's diſpoſition with regard to œconomy. What could I do in this perplexing ſituation, ſince the inconvenience was equal whether I granted all, or refuſed all, but to refuſe whatever was really an encroachment upon juſtice, and a detriment to the public good, and in ſuch demands as muſt indiſpenſably be granted, and eſpecially edicts to prevent any oppreſſion in levying the money? As to their Majeſty's perſonal quarrels, it muſt be confeſſed, that in the King's conduct there were unaccountable weakneſſes, and in the Queen's inexcuſable irregularities.

From the little ſucceſs I had met with ever ſince I had firſt interpoſed in theſe domeſtic quarrels, I at length was fully convinced, that in theſe affairs ſuch only as were intereſted ſhould undertake to mediate between the parties: I therefore quietly ſlipt my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the King likewiſe made uſe of on this occaſion. He ſometimes found, that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty to believe: this employment

employment required complaisance and dissimulation; I could neither flatter the sentiments of others, nor disguise my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for, and every thing to fear; and there the resentment of a wife and a mistress both was to be dreaded, which made the danger so much the greater. By what has been related, my first observation has been fully made out; and the second, I may say, was no less verified by the event, since, if I had not been extremely cautious, I should have certainly been the victim of the lover and the mistress, and upon the following occasion.

At the time when the misunderstanding between Henry and the Marchioness of Verneuil increased every day, I was desired by the King to make her very severe reproaches in his name. Instead of relenting, or confessing her fault, she assumed so haughty an air, and answered with so little respect, that this once I began to hope the affair would not end but in an open rupture, which was what I most ardently wished for. She not only refused to give his Majesty the satisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared so fully determined to break off all commerce with the King, that she even went so far, as to solicit me in the most earnest manner imaginable, to prevail upon the King to consent to this resolution, as being equally necessary to the future happiness of them both; and desired, that as soon as I went home I would write a letter to the King which had been concerted between us, in which she expressed herself in terms strong enough to make me conclude she acted sincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was sufficient to give me apprehensions that she would disavow all that I should write to the King, and pretend that I had endeavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince: A conduct which, indulgent as he was, he would have never been able to pardon; for in affairs

fairs of love, he carried his ſenſibility and delicacy very far. I therefore took the precaution to ſend this letter to the Marchioneſs before it was given to the King, and at the ſame time deſired ſhe would read and examine it with attention, that ſhe might be convinced I had ſaid nothing more in this letter (which was very long) than ſhe had dictated to me; and intreated her to let me know, whether I had not ſcrupulouſly obſerved the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer, to bring me back no verbal meſſage, but to oblige this lady to write what ſhe thought neceſſary to be altered in the letter, and all that ſhe would have me add to it.

She had already relaxed much from the ſeverity of her firſt reſolution; my meſſenger perceived it, by her cavilling at the terms, and appearing diſſatisfied, though ſhe did not give the leaſt hint, that the letter ſhould be ſuppreſſed. My ſervant finding that ſhe returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any poſitive anſwer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her, that having a very indifferent memory, he intreated that ſhe would write down what ſhe had juſt ſaid to him, that he might not incur any blame from his maſter, for his having forgot, or imperfectly reported, any of her words. She underſtood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede: She therefore took the pen, and wrote to me, that ſhe approved of the whole letter, except one expreſſion, which was ſufficient, ſhe ſaid, to put the King into a violent paſſion. I had told the King in this letter, that the Marchioneſs intreated him ſtill to allow her the honour of ſeeing him ſometimes, but to have no private correſpondence with her; the laſt words ſhe ſoftened, by adding, "that might be prejudicial to "him;" which made no great difference.

I carefully depoſited the Marchioneſs's letter, and ſent mine to the King, not without having ſome hopes,

hopes, that pride, and affronted love, if not reaſon, would prevail upon him to concur in the reſolution his miſtreſs had taken, and that he would at length ceaſe to be the ſlave of a woman. In effect, he read my letter twice over, with all the indignation and rage which might naturally be expected. "How!" ſaid he, "does ſhe deſire our correſpondence may "be broke off? I deſire it more ardently than ſhe "does; ſhe ſhall be taken in her own ſnares." The King uttered theſe words in a low voice, but my meſſenger heard them. He asked for paper and pens, and wrote a billet to me that inſtant, in which he promiſed, that on the Monday following, the Marchioneſs of Verneuil ſhould receive a letter from his hand, which ſhould prove that he ſtill knew how to command his paſſions.

This billet of the King's was dated the 16th of April, but that of Monday never came; but on his arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his miſtreſs's houſe, flattering himſelf that he ſhould at leaſt overwhelm her with confuſion, and force from her a thouſand painful regrets. Far from it: it was himſelf that played this part; he diſavowed all that his agents had done, he condemned himſelf; in a word, he threw himſelf upon the mercy of her who had juſt treated him with the utmoſt contempt. Then it was that I thought myſelf happy to be poſſeſſed of a letter from the Marchioneſs that could reſtrain his reſentment againſt me. She, however, imagined, that this letter could not hinder me from appearing, through her repreſentations, as an incendiary and ſlanderer. I would not take upon me to anſwer for Henry's good opinion of me that moment; the letter I ſhewed him when he came to the Arſenal undeceived him; but it could not open his eyes upon the arts of his unworthy miſtreſs. He told me at parting that he would chide her ſeverely. I did not believe him; and indeed how could I, after what had juſt happened?

After

After the reconciliation between the King and the Queen, which was made, as has been ſeen, at the expence of the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, this woman, who, for the firſt time, thought herſelf really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accompliſhed her purpoſe. It is wonderful to think how many ſprings ſhe put in motion to awaken the King's love for her, and excite his jealouſy; even religion was profaned to ſerve her purpoſe; ſhe would be a nun, and devote herſelf to perpetual confinement; ſhe openly joined the party of the malecontents: ſhe ſought out all the young women to whom Henry had diſcovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to forge ſuch promiſes of marriage as that he had given to her; ſhe made ſo inſolent a uſe of that, as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the Queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found eccleſiaſtics who countenanced her in theſe extravagancies, and who were hardy enough to publiſh the banns of marriage which ſhe boaſted ſhe would oblige the King to contract with her. At the ſame time, a great number of letters and memoirs were diſtributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretenſions of this woman were ſupported *. Henry would have give any reward for a diſcovery of the authors of theſe writings, his whole court were employed to find them out, and myſelf among the reſt.

I ſhould never come to an end, if I undertook to relate all the circumſtances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a

* See the Cardinal d'Oſſat's complaints on this occaſion againſt the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular againſt a capuchin, called Father Hillary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome, in favour of the Marchioneſs de Verneuil's party. Letters of the 22d. February and 15th October 1681, and of the 1ſt of April, 1682. The liberty of publiſhing ſatirical libels was never ſo great as at that time.

good deal of trouble upon ſome that had a ſhare in it. But I am weary of diſplaying thoſe little weakneſſes in a prince, who, on other occaſions, has afforded me ſo many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmneſs of his mind. This ſtorm, which was occaſioned by a mere love-quarrel, ended, as uſual with Henry, in an increaſe of tenderneſs for his unworthy miſtreſs, which carried the miſunderſtanding between him and the Queen to greater heights than ever *. It was fixed, that, by a moſt unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince ſhould, throughout his whole life, ſeek his pleaſures and gratifications at the expence of his quiet and his health. Theſe two motives made me ſtill intereſt myſelf in theſe unpleaſing affairs; for I could not, without the moſt ſenſible affliction, ſee the health of a prince ſo dear to me declining every day. He had not indeed any illneſs this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave ſo much employment to the phyſicians, La-Riviere and Du Laurens; he was obliged to uſe bleeding often, and obſerve a ſtrict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a blood heavy and inflamed, which brought frequent indiſpoſitions upon him. Rage, grief, and impatience, threw him into ſuch an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at ſome late proceedings of the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before, opened again, as he was ſitting down to dinner. The Queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither

* "The Duke of Sully has often told me (ſays the author of l'hiſtoire de la Mere et du Fils) that he never knew them a week together without quarrelling. He alſo told me, that once the Queen was ſo far tranſported with paſſion, that being near the King, and haſtily lifting up her arm, he was ſo apprehenſive ſhe was going to do ſomething further, that he caught hold of her with leſs reſpect than he wiſhed to have done, and ſo roughly, that ſhe afterwards complained he had ſtruck her." &c. Vol. I. p. 8.

he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa * with the greater conveniency.

Nothing would have been wanting to complete the unhappineſs of theſe domeſtic quarrels, if Queen Margaret had borne a part in them This was the only misfortune that Henry eſcaped; and certainly this princeſs merited the higheſt encomiums for the ſweetneſs of her temper, her reſignation, and, above all, for her diſintereſtedneſs, in a ſituation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all ſhe could deſire. Her demands were few, and for things not only neceſſary in themſelves, but ſuch as ſhe had an inconteſtable right to, the fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been made with her, and ſome exemptions for her borough of Uſſon. Her chief ſolicitation was on account of ſucceeding to the poſſeſſions of her mother Queen Catharine. That princeſs, by her contract of marriage with Henry II. was intitled to leave her effects, after the death of her ſons, to her daughters, preferable to the natural children of her huſband. Although this diſpoſition was abſolutely equitable, yet Charles of Valois, Count of Auvergne †, pretended a claim to the prejudice of Margaret. She had not the principal writings that proved the legality of hers. But the King interpoſed his authority to make it be given her, and that ſhe ſhould

* The Spa-waters are in the biſhopric of Liege.

† By virtue of a deed of gift, which Henry III. had made to him of theſe eſtates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged theſe eſtates to Margaret of Valois. Brantome, in vol. VII of his memoirs, p. 38. gives an enumeration of theſe eſtates, conſiſting of the earldoms of Auvergne, Lauragais, Leverous. Duzenac, Chouſſac, Gorreges, Hondocourt, &c. the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand livres; beſides that princeſs's portion of more than two hundred thouſand crowns or ducats, "which," ſays he, "would be worth now more than four hundred thouſand"; together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious ſtones, jewels, &c.

obtain

obtain the juſtice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the ſame rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour, it could never be diſcovered that ſhe had once been the wife of the King. I ſhould not confine my praiſes to what I have already ſaid of her, were I not apprehenſive of being accuſed of partiality, ſince the intereſt which this princeſs had always the goodneſs to take in my fortune is well known. Her letters to me were ſuch as one would write to a ſincere and unalterable friend. "You are al-"ways," thus ſhe expreſſes herſelf in one of them, "my reſource, and, after God, my ſureſt re-"liance."

But let us now paſs to other cares and uneaſineſſes, that the King ſuffered this year from a traiterous cabal, in which the Marchioneſs de Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating inceſſantly the names of the Dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, and De-Rohan, the Count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, Du Pleſſis, and the reſt. It may be eaſily imagined that theſe are the perſons I mean. The ſame ſpirit of ſedition, by which they had acted in the intrigues they had ſet on foot with the Proteſtant party in the ſynod of Gap, ſtill directed their enterpriſes, and ſuggeſted to them innumerable ſtratagems, either to raiſe an inſurrection among the King's ſubjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is ſcarce credible how many ſlanderous lies were propagated of his Majeſty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed againſt the government by the authority of theſe leaders

The King, when he ſent me to Paris by D'Eſcures ſome advices he had juſt received at Saint-Germain-en-laye, began in this manner: That although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I ſhould with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning

it. Indeed I am obliged to confeſs, that the proceedings of the French Proteſtants were ſuch, as left them no reaſon to complain of any one but themſelves, if they one day met with a ſevere puniſhment for them. They boaſted almoſt openly, that they would oblige his Majeſty, not only to receive the Duke of Bouillon in his kingdom, but alſo to inveſt him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du-Pleſſis, the ſoul that animated this body, ſuggeſted only ſuch thoughts; La Tremouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by perſuading them, that they would very ſhortly behold a ſurpriſing revolution in France: the Duke of Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himſelf to ſpread this report in foreign countries, and in England eſpecially, by a truſty emiſſary named *Durand*, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours to draw off his Britannic Majeſty from Henry's Party. This man, who at London aſſumed the title of *M. de Haute-Fontaine*, ſhewed himſelf ſo faithful and officious a ſervant, that the King, as well as every one elſe, was perſuaded that he had exceeded his commiſſion; for it was affirmed, that he had treated on conditions for the eſtabliſhment of his maſter in England, where he wanted to get him naturalized. If this was not Durand's alone, it could only be ſuggeſted by the Ducheſs-dowager of Rohan. It is alſo certain, that the Duke of Rohan ordered Durand to preſent the King of England, in his name, with a horſe of great price, which, in the preſent conjuncture, it was not juſtifiable for him to do, without Henry's conſent.

But it was more neceſſary to enter into a ſtrict examination of the Count of Auvergne's conduct than any of the others: few perſons were ignorant of his connection with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with reſpect to the common cauſe, or his own particular

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one. He had made uſe of the promiſe of marriage given by Henry to the Marchioneſs de Verneuil his ſiſter *, to ſerve his deſigns, and joined to it a claim of his own yet more ridiculous than this writing: but in Spain he found perſons credulous enough to conſider them both in a ſerious light. It is certain, that he had acquired great credit and ſtrong influence there. We ſhall ſoon ſee to what it conducted him.

The methods his Majeſty made uſe of to render all theſe intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himſelf with his accuſtomed attention and aſſiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendences and other public offices with ſuch men only as were diſtinguiſhed for their merit,

* The hiſtorians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the Count of Auvergne with the Spaniſh council; but Amelot de la Houſſaye will help us out on this occaſion: and he is the more worthy of credit, as he aſſures us, that the Count of Auvergne, and the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, entruſted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's ſide, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugene Chevillard, paymaſter, general of the gendarmery of France. He further informs us, that Chevillard, being involved in the diſgrace of the Count of Auvergne, and ſent to the baſtile, he kept the original of the treaty ſo well concealed in the ſkirt of his doublet, that no one diſcovered it; and finding himſelf treated as a ſtate criminal, he, by degrees, eat both the treaty, and the ratification of it by the court of Spain annexed to it, up in the ſoups, and other victuals, which were brought to his table. The King of Spain thereby promiſed to aſſiſt the Count of Auvergne with troops and money, to place his nephew Henry of Bourbon on the throne, who was the ſon of Henry IV. by the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is ſtyled Dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. Art. Entragues Balſac, Touchet. Amelot de la Houſſaye further aſſures us, in the note on the Cardinal d'Oſſat's letters above mentioned, that two capuchins, called Father Hillary of Grenoble, and Father Archangelo, the one at Paris, and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conſpiracy.

M. de Sully ſeems to inſinuate, as if ſomething farther had been intended in favour of the Count of Auvergne himſelf; perhaps he had ſome deſign of ſetting up ſome writing or diſpoſition of his father Charles IX. by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See alſo on this ſubject, the memoirs of the life of the Preſident de Thou, and in particular his hiſtory, anno 1605. Vitt. Siri's mem. recond. vol. I. p. 297.

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their probity, and zeal for his ſervice. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made preſident of the court of aids in Montpelier, in reward for having uſefully ſerved his Majeſty in Languedoc. Henry likewiſe commanded me to aſſemble the Chancellor, Villeroi, and Sillery, who with me compoſed a kind of council, to conſider of this matter. By his orders, I ſtill kept up a correſpondence by letters with the principal Proteſtants, which I own was of little ſervice to his Majeſty: his chief dependence, and with reaſon, was upon the journey he propoſed to make this year to Provence and Languedoc, while I on my ſide was to viſit Poitou, and the weſtern part of France.

I greatly approved of this deſign when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourſelves together a long time in making preparations for theſe two journeys; the neceſſity for going to take poſſeſſion of my government ſerved me for a pretence for mine; the King wanted no excuſe for his: on the contrary, it was fit he ſhould not appear ignorant of the occaſion that made his preſence neceſſary in the ſouthern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On ſome pretence or other I was to viſit, either in my rout, or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guienne; and his Majeſty was likewiſe to take Berry, Bourbonnois, Lyonnois, and Dauphiné, in his way *, ſo that between us we were to go through almoſt all France. We ſettled the time of our departure, or ſtay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouſe; and I looked upon his Majeſty's jour-

* See the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M. de Roſny, on the ſubject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July 1604, with an indorſement thereon, as moſt of his letters have, in the hand-writing of this miniſter. Henry IVth's letters.

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ney to be so certain, that I thought of nothing but of coming immediately to Paris (for all this was resolved on at Fontainebleau) to settle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not suffer any delay, it being resolved that we should set out some time in the present month of June at farthest. Such persons as had business depending in the King's council, pressed the conclusion of it with the utmost assiduity, as soon as the King's intention was made public; and the counsellors rejoiced at this eagerness, because, that great part of them being to attend the King in his journey, they did not chuse to leave the business they had begun, to be finished by the new council, appointed by his Majesty during his absence.

This scheme so well concerted, was never carried into execution, with respect to the King's part in it. As soon as his Majesty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was presently in an uproar; and it caused as usual, much commotion at court. There was not one to whom this design did not give great uneasiness, and who did not use his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it; some, such as the ministers and great officers that were about his person, to spare the expences of so tedious a journey, and the gay delicate youth of the court, to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniencies usual in such expeditions; so that, when his Majesty proposed the affair in form to his counsellors of state, whom he sent for expressly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, they opposed it with innumerable obstacles, without ever reaching the true one.

They alledged the uncertainty of the sieges of Ostend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the Count d'Auvergne, and the Marchioness

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de Verneuil; the misunderstanding that had risen lately between the republic of Grisons and the Count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indispensably obliged to interest herself, on account of the Venetians and the Swiss. All those affairs I have already mentioned, or shall do immediately: in a word, they found so many inconveniencies likely to accrue from this journey, and knew so well how to aggravate them, that the King was prevailed upon to alter his resolution.

They even suggested reasons to his Majesty, to make him change his opinion as to the necessity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council began to appear to him of such importance, that, to prevent losing sight of them for so long a time, he, for this once, desired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou; and remit, to another opportunity, my design of visiting the maritime coasts. I do not pretend to deny, that part of the arguments they made use of, to dissuade the King from his journey, had some weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the most important of them; and I still persisted in my first opinion, of the great advantage it would be to the state.

One man, whom the news of his Majesty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whose name, probably, the reader will not expect to find here, was Lesdiguieres; and a report being then current, that the Count of Soissons was shortly to be put in possession of those cautionary places, given to Lesdiguieres, it was natural for him to believe that he was personally concerned in the resolution his Majesty had taken. His correspondence with the Duke of Bouillon was just come to light; Morges, who had given secret advice of it from Dauphiné, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by Du-Bourg.

I set out from Paris in the month of June, and took the shortest road to Poitou, accompanied by several persons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themselves about me, some of them with no other intention, but to pay me those honours which they thought due to their governor: but others, among whom I may, without scruple, put * Richelieu and Pontcourlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view, but to get more certain intelligence of my designs, either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn all that should be done or said in my family, that they might afterwards give the chiefs of the Protestant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppose such measures, as they imagined I might be ordered to take against them in favour of the Catholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it should happen that any did escape me, to render me criminal or raise suspicions in the King's mind to my prejudice. But, in this, my enemies did not succeed, however they might in some other of their designs; the correspondence his Majesty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any distance from him, still continued as usual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence, and knowing to what degree he interested himself in the safety of my person. He often, with great goodness, bid me remember, that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might assume, it was certain they wished me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard against them.

It was but too true, that the King's enemies and mine had taken measures beforehand to render all my endeavours fruitless, and to animate the popu-

* Francis du Plessis de Richelieu, father of Cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vignerod de Pont-courlai.

lace againſt me: that which appeared moſt likely to produce this effect, was to ſpread a report that the deſign which brought me to Poitou, was to force the proprietors * of the ſalt-pits to yield up their property, and to purchaſe them for the King. Thoſe in whom I diſcovered the greateſt malevolence towards me, were ſuch from whom it was leaſt to be expected, my brethren the Proteſtants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet theſe affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and although they refuſed to let me into the ſecret of theſe debates, yet it was always upon ſuch plauſible pretences, that I had room to feign myſelf entirely ſatisfied. They were apprehenſive of Parabere, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, becauſe he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they therefore commiſſioned D'Aubigné and Conſtant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him while he continued about me. But this malignancy, with reſpect to me, extended no farther than to a ſmall number of perſons; or if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of reſpect in every place where I made any ſtay; and in thoſe that I only paſſed through, they came to meet me, harangued me, and eſcorted me with ceremony on my way. The eccleſiaſtics ſeemed moſt eager to ſhew me reſpect; and I never heard the leaſt expreſſion that ſuggeſted a doubt of my religion: the inhabitants of Poitiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude and unſociable, gave me, by their polite and

* Perefixe makes no doubt, but Henry IV. really has informed this deſign, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from the gabelle or ſalt-duty, which he aſſerts, this Prince was fully determined to aboliſh, as well as the taille.

reſpectful

reſpectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I was ſtill more ſurpriſed at the conduct of the Rochellers: this imperious city, that uſually makes it her boaſt to have only the King himſelf for governor, and under him that haughty and important mayor, who is generally elected out of three perſons propoſed by them to his Majeſty, might have laid great ſtreſs upon thoſe mighty prerogatives with ſo much the more reaſon, in reſpect to me, as their city was not properly within the limits of my government; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor choſen by themſelves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horſe: ſuch an eſcort gave me the leſs room to be apprehenſive of thoſe attempts his Majeſty warned me to be careful of; the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any diſtinction of perſons or religions; they were all lodged within the walls, and moſt of them in the houſes of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drank the King's health, and ſaid, that if his Majeſty had done them the honour to preſent himſelf before their gates, though followed with thirty thouſand men, they would have opened them to him; and that, if their gates were not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I ſaw nothing but reſpect and ſubmiſſion, and heard nothing but praiſes of this prince; they likewiſe aſſured me, with the moſt flattering encomiums, that, if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the ſame manner.

The dinner I have mentioned conſiſted of ſeventeen tables, the leaſt of which had ſixteen covers; and the next day they gave me a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been; they added to it,

the repreſentation of a naval fight between Correilles, and Chef de-Baye, in which twenty French veſſels attacked a like number of Spaniſh veſſels. The vanquiſhed Spaniards were brought bound hand and foot, before a picture of the King, expoſed to public view; and they were preſented to me as to his lieutenant-general: nothing was wanting to render this ſhew complete; dreſſes, arms, pavilions, and eſcutcheons, all were choſen with the utmoſt propriety. I repaid this good reception, by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the King, whoſe elogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their priſoners; excepting theſe, and the Sieur de Luſſan, I puniſhed ſeverely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His Majeſty was ſatisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to aſk him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poitiers, I learned ſome circumſtances which perſuaded me, the Count of Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

The King had allowed me ſo little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer viſiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permiſſion from his Majeſty to go to Saint John d'Angely, and to Brougage, by repreſenting to him the neceſſity there was for undertaking this journey, to undeceive the people of that diſtrict, who ſuſpected that the King had an intention to deprive them of their ſalt-pits. I ſet out from Rochelle, to go to theſe two places, and was received by Meſſieurs de Rohan and de Saint-Luc ſtill better than I expected. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to recal Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recall Durand from thence: he appeared greatly aſtoniſhed at this diſcourſe, complained of the calumnies his enemies ſpread abroad of him; diſavowed the agency of Durand;

Durand; and to convince me of his ſincerity, acknowledged circumſtances unasked, as the horſe preſented by him to King James, but aſſured me, he had obtained his Majeſty's permiſſion for it, which he could eaſily bring to his remembrance

From Saint Jean I reſumed the road to Paris through Thours, where I was deſirous of having a conference with the Duke de la Tremouille. I did not expect ſo polite a reception from him as I really received, ſenſible that he muſt be greatly mortified to ſee me poſſeſs a government, and receive honours, to which he had aſpired with ſuch extreme ardency, as to ſolicit them publicly. Our converſation often turned on the many cauſes of complaint the Proteſtant party had given the King; and even in the preſence of Parabere, Saint-Germain-de Clan, Beſſes, La Valliere, Conſtant, D'Aubigné, (theſe were hardly ever abſent) Preaux, La Ferriere, and La Suaſſaye; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injuſtice that had been done them by the King, proteſting their fidelity and attachment to his Majeſty; and the better to impoſe upon me, accompanied their aſſurances with ſo much civility to myſelf, and ſuch groſs flatteries, that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

In the midſt of all this art and diſguiſe, I did not ceaſe to penetrate into their deſigns, by turning the diſcourſe, in their preſence, upon the ſtate of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themſelves then in ſpite of their endeavours to the contrary; and it was no longer poſſible for me to doubt, that all this little court of people, attached to the Dukes of Rohan and de la Tremouille were, in reality, ſuch as they were repreſented to his Majeſty: but what I diſcovered at the ſame time, and the intelligence which the poſt I poſſeſſed in that province afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the ſequel, the utmoſt certainty that theſe gentleman had no power with the reſt of the Proteſtant

Proteſtant party; they were no longer, as formerly, thoſe abſolute leaders that, with a ſingle word, drew all their ſuffrages; but, on the contrary, they were ſhunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the aſſemblies. This they had brought upon themſelves by their own imprudence, in putting the party upon ſuch dangerous and ridiculous enterprizes, as had at length undeceived the moſt credulous amongſt them; and the higheſt idea that could be now given of them was, that they formed a party in the midſt of the party itſelf, and only ſupported themſelves by a vain exertion of authority, of which they but poſſeſſed the ſhadow.

I did not neglect to make all the advantage I could of ſuch favourable diſpoſitions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been ſpread among them concerning the ſalt pits, the exciſe, and other monopolies, which had been made uſe of to excite them to ſedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their King; their notions of his tyranny and their ſlavery were wholly effaced. I made the Proteſtants comprehend how groundleſs their ſuſpicions were, that Henry had ever deſigned to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the ſtate, ſince it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions; I convinced them likewiſe, how much they had been blinded by prejudice, with reſpect to Clement VIII who was ſo far from endeavouring to extirpate the Proteſtants, that he had, on all occaſions, ſtrongly oppoſed making war againſt them.

My actions completed the work theſe aſſurances had begun: I diſtributed penſions among thoſe of the party who had adviſed peace, and ſerved the King faithfully; and to convince them abſolutely that they were not deceived, with regard to the equitable intentions of their ſovereign, I ſhewed them

them the paper that contained all the reformations he propoſed to make in the ſtate, the ſame that I have formerly mentioned, with which they were fully ſatisfied. By theſe means I ſo weakened the Duke de la Tremouille's party, that he could never afterwards add to it ſix perſons of any conſequence. The Duke of Bouillon was ſo greatly affected with the knowledge that he had loſt all the remaining intereſt he had hitherto preſerved in this diſtrict of France, that he determined to paſs the reſt of his days in that kind of exile which kept him quiet in the court of the Elector Palatine in ſpite of himſelf. Saint-Germain, who was not unacquainted with any of the Duke's ſecrets, wrote an account of this deſign to La-Suaſſaye, of whom he thought himſelf abſolutely ſecure; but La Suaſſaye gave me Saint-Germain's letter, which I ſhewed to his Majeſty.

Having thus performed all that the preſent conjuncture, and the ſhortneſs of the time permitted me, I obeyed the King's repeated commands (which every one of his letters brought me) to return as ſoon as poſſible, and followed in a few days my laſt letter, which I wrote to his Majeſty from Thouras, on the 16th of July. Before I went away I viſited the Duke de la Tremouille for the laſt time; he was indiſpoſed when I came to Thouras, and I left him at the point of death when I ſet out from thence; he died * without being prevailed upon to promiſe that he would come to court, and his death deprived the malecontents of one leader.

I arrived at Paris on the 22d of July, where I found a billet from his Majeſty, dated the 18th, in which he deſired me to ſend into every part of Normandy, Britanny, and Poitou, whether I had a deſign to go myſelf, two perſons on whoſe fidelity

* Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouras, died of the gout, being only thirty four years of age, See his eulogium in De-Thou, book 31. and Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 3. p. 663.

and

and understanding I could rely, and to come myself to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me, having given over drinking the waters. I was sensible, by the kind and obliging reception this prince gave me, that I had been fortunate enough to give him satisfaction † as to the business that had occasioned my journey; and I now related to him, during the course of three days, all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroi.

It has been reported, that the Duke of Epernon behaved at that time in such a manner in Guyenne, as to give his Majesty more cause than ever to suspect him; that I also distrusted his fidelity, and on this occasion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from any mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myself, I here declare to be absolutely false; and I believe what was said to the disadvantage of D'Epernon to be so likewise; and that the unfavourable sentiments they attributed to his Majesty of this Duke, has no better foundation. One would imagine, that the opinion Henry entertained of him was sufficiently clear, by the letter this Prince wrote to the Duke on the subject of the dispute between Du-Plessis and the Bishop of Evreux, in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to those whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumstance of which I am absolutely certain, and speak from my own knowledge.

His Majesty, after the time here meant, granted D'Epernon a thousand things unasked, and often pressed me to visit him, and give him other instances of kindness, even before I had received the same compliment from him. If Henry heard any thing to the Duke's disadvantage during his stay in Guyenne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this

† De Thou says, this journey of M. de Rosny freed Henry IV. from great disquiet, book 31.

only I know, that his Majesty was easily freed from any remains of suspicion, after the letters that D'Epernon sent to him, and to me, by Perrone, in which there were such evident marks of sincerity and conscious innocence, confirmed by the offer he made to attend his Majesty upon the very first order he should receive, that he might put his person in his power, to answer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what passed between the King and the Duke of Epernon during the life, and even after the death of Henry III. and that this prince had discovered some resentment towards him; but this was at an end; forgetfulness of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has not been shewn to the proofs which Henry has given more than once of the true greatness of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the Duke of Epernon may be considered as an instance of his clemency.

For myself, I was so far from being an enemy to D'Epernon, at the time I have been speaking of, that I can bring a thousand instances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other: but it is fit I should be believed upon my bare word, as I have hitherto shewn myself equally incapable of disguising my sentiments, whether of friendship or hatred, or accusing the innocent, or justifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horse in Guyenne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruised himself likewise in the shoulder and elbow; which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lie during all that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolance upon this accident; and he thanked me with the same affection which he usually expressed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend; and I was likewise his confident

fident in all that regarded the King*. Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwiſe, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreſerved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon; he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the Count of Auvergne.

It now depended wholly upon the King to deprive this rebellious ſubject of all means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate: the unreaſonable clemency with which he had been treated by his Majeſty at the time that Marechal Biron ſuffered a juſt ſentence, was the cauſe of his relapſe; as the tenderneſs his Majeſty had ſhewn for his whole family, on account of the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, had firſt encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find ſuch another opportunity as his Majeſty had ſuffered to eſcape him when he received notice of the new intrigues which the Count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller diſcoveries concerning thoſe intrigues might be expected from the ſeizure of Morgan†, his chief agent, who was juſt then arreſted, but the King was contented with ſuffering D'Eſcures to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the Count then was, to diſcover the plot, and by gentle methods perſuade him to come and throw himſelf at his Majeſty's feet.

In effect, D'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wiſeſt, and the only part he had to take; the ſeizing of Morgan had wholly diſconcerted him, and the meaſures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope, that his deſigns could be concealed, or that they were in ſufficient forwardneſs to enable him to throw off the maſk;

* See the originals of theſe letters in the old memoirs: they ſeem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the Duke of Epernon.

† Thomas Morgan, an Engliſhman. See De-Thou, *ib.*

he

he feared that by flying he ſhould expoſe the Count and Counteſs d'Entragues, and his whole family, to a ſhameful treatment; he therefore yielded to D'Eſcures's arguments, and promiſed to go with him to court, and reveal to the King his cloſet ſecrets, and even to ſhew a letter from his ſiſter, which, he ſaid, was of the utmoſt conſequence, provided that his Majeſty would grant him the pardon he had promiſed. The original of this letter from the Marchioneſs de Verneuil was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit ſhould be given to it, becauſe the brother and ſiſter ſometimes appeared not to be on friendly terms, and often in ſuch high diſguſt, that they could not bear each other's ſight. That which appears moſt worthy of obſervation in this letter is, that in it ſhe exhorts her brother to a ſecure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herſelf determined to do the like.

That the Count d'Auvergne was not very ſincere in the promiſe he made D'Eſcures, appears by his ſending Yverné to Spain, at the very time that he ſet out himſelf for Paris. The Biſhop of Montpelier diſcovered this intrigue, and ſent the King notice of it: but this prince was willing a ſecond time to liſten to his fine promiſes. He only ordered, that the parliament ſhould finiſh Morgan's trial, that the crime being made public, might give more weight to the pardon he was reſolved to grant to the whole family of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the proſecution was, to get that famous promiſe * of marriage he had in vain ſolicited his miſtreſs to return, reſtored to him by D'Etrangues;

* Henry IV. in order to get back this promiſe was obliged to pay the Marchioneſs de Verneuil twenty thouſand crowns down, and to promiſe the baton of a marechal of France to the Count of Entragues, who had never been in any military action. De Thou, book cxxxii.

which was done in the preſence of the Count of Soiſſons, the Duke of Montpenſier, the Chancellor, Sillery, La-Gueſle Jeannin, Gevres, and Villeroi; that this reſtitution might not be afterwards eluded by any reſtriction or disavowal; and an act was made, importing, that this was the true and only writing given by his Majeſty on that ſubject: and the declaration of D'Entranges confirming this was joined to the paper.

This conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the Count of Auvergne leſs raſh and enterpriſing; and, in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almoſt before his Majeſty's eyes: his whole care was to deceive the King, who for a long time was impoſed upon by his appearances of ſincerity: but at length the whole myſtery was diſcovered by ſome letters written and received by D'Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, and by him carried immediately to the King. This prince was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes: but this conviction came too late; for the Count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the reſolution that had been taken to arreſt him could be executed, determined within himſelf never to return to it again, after the danger he had ſo lately eſcaped, and even to leave France altogether, upon the leaſt information that any thing was reſolved on againſt him.

The King acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D'Eſcures was ſent again to Auvergne: he went a third time, but to no purpoſe: the methods that had formerly ſucceeded were now ineffectual. D'Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earneſtly preſſed, but with ſuch appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not poſſible to draw from his refuſal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they ſhould do. He made

made the fairest promises imaginable, and always appeared disposed to set out. There was a necessity at length for making use of the only method yet unattempted, which was to secure his person; but this did not seem easy to effect

I cast my eyes upon a man who seemed to me likely enough to succeed in such an attempt, and this was the treasurer Murat; his personal hatred to the Count d'Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of staying a long time on the spot without giving cause of suspicion, his resolution in any arduous enterprise, and his zeal for the service of his Majesty, all promised a happy and honourable end of this commission. I proposed him to the King when his Majesty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation I sent for Murat; to whom at first I acted with all the reserve and precaution, that a matter of such consequence required. When I found that, instead of bringing arguments for being dispensed with for such a service, he himself prevented my offers, I explained myself clearly, and perceived, that the proposal was far from being displeasing to him; he only required a commission for it under the great seal, which was granted, and kept very secret. As we had not yet lost all hope, that D'Escures might be able to draw the Count to court, and in that case Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him his instructions, I enjoined him not to act but in concert with D'Escures, and to conceal from every one the part that was to be given him in this business, if he found there was no longer any occasion for him.

D'Escures set out for Auvergne on the 17th of August (this was the third or fourth time of his going) and Murat followed him a few days afterwards. provided with blank letters for the cities and officers *de presideaux*, which were to be filled

up

up at the places themſelves. In the mean time ſome letters from D'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expreſſed ſo much fear and ſhame, that the King rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it beſt for D'Eſcures to avoid preſſing him to take that ſtep, leſt he ſhould increaſe his apprehenſions. Murat had now orders to act ſingly: and D'Eſcures, on his ſide, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all D'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if poſſible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this D'Eſcures executed with ſuch dexterity, that he prevented the Count, artful and penetrating as he was, from ſuſpecting any of thoſe meaſures the council was now purſuing.

A little affair between a brother of Murat's and the Count of Auvergne gave this truſty agent a pretence for going to the Count; which having ſettled between them, the Count, of himſelf, entered into a converſation with him concerning the ſtate of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of ſeeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himſelf had ſaid. D'Auvergne founded violent ſuſpicions upon the inſinuations that were given him, that the King expected he ſhould ſhew himſelf at court; and upon D'Eſcures's endeavouring to perſuade him to go, yet pretending not to know that it was the King's deſire, he therefore aſſured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expoſe himſelf to the fury of his enemies, he would ſubmit himſelf to a voluntary exile in a foreign country: he mentioned the fate of Marechal Biron, which ſeemed to give him great apprehenſions; and ſaid, that formerly having had the misfortune to offend his King, he could not reſolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new ſervices,

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and till the pardon his Majeſty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to underſtand, that his reaſon for not being willing to truſt the intentions of the court, aroſe from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with if he appeared there, this notice having been ſent to him from ſome of the courtiers themſelves, perſons of the firſt diſtinction, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deſerved to be relied on.

Murat finding himſelf made thus a confident of, anſwered with great ſeeming ſimplicity, that ſince the Count had confeſſed his error to the King, he ſaw no inconvenience attending his return to court; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his caſe and that of Marechal Biron; and that nothing but a relapſe into the ſame error could authoriſe his ſcruples, ſince Henry had never yet broke his word with any one; therefore his beſt counſellors would be his own conſcience. D'Eſcures likewiſe laboured with equal ſolicitude to re-aſſure him with regard to the King, and to give him a diſtruſt of thoſe perſons that ſent him the informations he had mentioned.

To all this the Count only replied, that when his life was in queſtion, he would not run any hazard; that neither the King the Queen, or the princes of the blood, were his friends, and the maſter of the horſe was his mortal enemy; that the ſilence of his friends on this occaſion was one proof of his ruin being determined; that no one ſolicited for him to the King; that he now never received any letters from Villeroi, Sillery, or me becauſe we were not willing to reproach ourſelves with having been the inſtruments of his fate; that the Conſtable no longer correſponded with him, for fear of rendering himſelf ſuſpected: but it was with the Marchioneſs de Verneuil he appeared to be moſt diſcontented; he knew his ſiſter, he ſaid,

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to make her peace with the King at his expence, was capable of charging him with falſe crimes, if ſhe could not with real ones: and concluded with new proteſtations, that nothing ſhould draw him from his retreat. As he did not ſuſpect that D'Eſcures and Murat were come with an intention to perſuade him to go, he told them, that he ſuppoſed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would loſe his labour.

The retreat he was reſolved not to be prevailed upon to leave was Vic, a poor houſe, without any conveniencies, but ſituated in the midſt of a wood, where D'Auvergne paſſed whole days, under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual alarms, the agitation of his thoughts, the wildneſs of his look and air, and the diſorder of his whole perſon, would have been a ſufficient teſtimony againſt him: nothing could be more miſerable than the life he now led; and the terror and anxiety that preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his puniſhment, both the King and the ſtate. He was afraid to ſtay in his houſe, yet durſt not truſt himſelf at any conſiderable diſtance from it; he was never ſeen in the neighbouring towns; he had left off viſiting his friends, nor durſt even confide in his miſtreſs, a certain lady named Madame de Chateau-gay; he no longer viſited her at her houſe, but when he choſe to ſee her they met in an obſcure village, or in the midſt of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the ſame place. His ſervants, whom he poſted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they ſaw any one appear, by blowing a horn; and ſometimes he made uſe of dogs for his guard.

With theſe precautions he defied all his enemies, and inſolently, as well as imprudently, boaſted, that

he ſhould always be able to deceive and eſcape them: nevertheleſs, his reſolutions were always varying, he never continued two moments in the ſame mind. And this man, ſo wiſe, ſo ſagacious, penetrated ſo little into the intentions of thoſe who came to deſtroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counſellors, and was many times upon the point of abandoning himſelf to their diſcretion. But prudence is a quality ſeldom found with a bad conſcience; had D'Auvergne poſſeſſed ever ſo little of it, he would have known, that there was no ſafety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and this, probably, was the only ſcheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment that, to D'Eſcures and Murat, he appeared determined not to expoſe himſelf to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a ſtrain quite different. He once ſent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues diſtant from his own houſe: though this ſummons gave them at firſt ſome uneaſineſs, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went, and found that he had ſent for them only to tell them he was now reſolved to go and preſent himſelf to the King. His Majeſty, to whom they ſent immediate notice of this reſolution, and who gave the more credit to it on account of a falſe report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that D'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to ſet out for Paris. In this it was not D'Eſcures and Murat that were deceived by the Count, but the Count by his own inconſtancy; for he was the firſt to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his laſt anſwer to the return of Fougeau, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents ſeemed to conſent, purely through complaiſance to him.

This whole account I take from Murat's letters. I received, at the ſame time, a letter from the

Count d'Auvergne himſelf. He complained to the two agents, that he never had any anſwer to four letters which, he ſaid, he had wrote to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but all together; and the writing ſo like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable, that D'Auvergne did not think of me at firſt, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me; but that afterwards, ſuppoſing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourſe to it, with the well known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his deſign.

If the Count had any intention to draw a promiſe from me which, on this occaſion, he might make uſe of as a ſecurity, he deceived himſelf greatly: I ſent him an anſwer indeed, but as if I had nothing more nor better to ſay to him, than what I had ſaid before to Marechal Biron in the ſame circumſtances, I treated him like a ſtate criminal, without augmenting his ſuſpicions; the letter I wrote to Auvergne, in a word, was but a copy of that which I had written to Marechal Biron; and he could not be ignorant that it was ſo, ſince I acknowledged it plainly. It is by this counterſtroke, which is doubtleſs of new invention, that I gave D'Auvergne to underſtand, he ought neither to attribute to the King, ſuch ſentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him, relating to his conduct, nor lay a ſtreſs upon actions and reports, that had no foundation but in his own unquiet conſcience. This was all that I wrote to Auvergne; and after his conviction this proceeding appeared ſo candid, and ſo free from all artifice, that he praiſed it greatly.

D'Eſcures and Murat at length found the opportunity they had ſo long waited for. M. de Vendome's

dome's regiment of light horſe being to be reviewed, they imparted a ſcheme that they had concerted to D'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all ready, it was effected in the following manner: D'Erre went to the Count, and told him, that he being Colonel-General of the light cavalry, he ought certainly to be preſent at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, becauſe he was not only mounted upon a horſe, which, as he ſaid, outſtripped the wind; and, indeed, he was accuſtomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermiſſion; but he was reſolved not to enter any narrow place, or to diſmount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review. Nereſtan advanced to ſalute him, followed only by four footmen, in appearance; but in reality, four ſtout and reſolute ſoldiers, whom they had diſguiſed in liveries, at the inſtant that Nereſtian was paying his compliments, two of theſe ſoldiers ſeized the reigns of the Count's bridle, and the two others, at the ſame time laid hold of his legs and pulled him of his horſe, throwing themſelves upon him ſo ſuddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hand upon his piſtols, nor draw his ſword, and ſtill leſs to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and ſhut up in the Baſtile *.

D'Entragues

* "The Counteſs of Auvergne, as meek and humble as the Marchioneſs was haughty and imperious, having thrown herſelf at the "King's feet with all the marks of the deepeſt ſorrow, to beg his "pardon for her huſband, his Majeſty, with great courteſy, raiſed "her up and ſaluted her, ſaying thus to her, I feel the utmoſt com-"paſſion for your miſery and your tears, but if I ſhould grant your "requeſt, this my wife (taking the Queen by the hand) muſt be de-"clared a whore, my ſon a baſtard, and my kingdom fall a prey to "others. The ſame lady having obtained the King's permiſſion to "ſend one to ſee her huſband, and to inquire of him what ſhe could "do for his ſervice, he ſent her word, only to let him have ſome "good cheeſe and muſtard, and not to trouble herſelf about any thing "further." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

D'Entragues was arrested at the same time that the Count D'Auvergne was; and the Marchioness de Verneuil was, in some sort, associated with the two criminals, since the King consented that she should be confined in her house *, where she continued under the guard of the Chevalier du Guet. It was this association that saved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At first they had not dared to hope for so much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after such frequent relapses, especially as they found that preparations were making for trying them with the utmost severity. The Count of Auvergne gave the King an exact account of his correspondences, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promise of association made by him and the Dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which has been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him

Messages at the same time began to be carried between Henry and the Marchioness de Verneuil, not on the same account; for I am persuaded, the reader does not expect to see any great severity used towards her. The King could not resolve to leave her a single moment in doubt of her pardon; with difficulty it was that he endeavoured to save appearances, by sending different messengers to tell the Marchioness, that she should purchase this pardon, by an absolute submission to such conditions as he should prescribe to her. La Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court was employed in these mes-

" The Count of Auvergne," says Amelot in the place before quoted, " had so entire a dependance on the fidelity of Anthony (that is " the paymaster Chevillard), that, in three examinations he under- " went, he said with as much intrepidity as if he had been entirely " innocent, in this respect, *Gentlemen, shew me one single line of my* " *writing to prove I ever entered into any treaty with the King of Spain,* " *or his ambassador, and I will write the sentence of my death under it, and* " *condemn myself to be quartered alive.*"

* In the house of one Audicourt, in St. Paul's street.

sages,

ſages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover who feared, notwithſtanding his anger, that he ſhould raiſe too ſtrong an obſtacle to his reconciliation with the object of his paſſion. The Marchioneſs diſcovered and well knew how to make her advantage of this weakneſs. I likewiſe ſerved Henry for an interpreter upon this occaſion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour: but he inſiſted on my interpoſing, and I obeyed him, with an intention to make the concluſion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

The firſt order his Majeſty gave me was to go to the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, and hear what ſhe had to ſay concerning the crimes ſhe was accuſed of, to draw from her a confeſſion of them, and make her ſenſible of her ingratitude. I cannot ſay that my commiſſion went farther, unleſs one takes in ſeveral bitter reproaches, and ſome advice which proved to be uſeleſs, concerning the manner in which ſhe ought to have behaved to a Prince who had laid ſuch great obligations upon her. I did not ſee her the firſt time I went to her houſe; ſhe ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face, hindered her from receiving any viſits. I ſent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I ſhould attend her; but, before my meſſenger was returned, a ſervant, whom ſhe had ſent in the mean time, came to tell me, that ſhe would ſee me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I found a woman whom diſgrace could not humble, whoſe inſolence detection could not abate *, and

* "She ſaid, ſhe gave herſelf no concern about dying, but that, "on the contrary, ſhe wiſhed for death; but, if the King ſhould put "her to death, it would always be ſaid he had killed his wife, for, "that ſhe was his queen before the other: upon the whole, ſhe only deſired three things of his Majeſty; a pardon for her father, a "a rope for her brother, and juſtice for herſelf." Journal of the reign

and who, inſtead of endeavouring to excuſe herſelf, or to implore a pardon, talked in the ſtyle of one who had ſuffered wrongs, not given them, and pretended to demand conditions for herſelf; ſhe complained, ſhe raved againſt the King, made new demands, wrapped herſelf up in reſerve, and affected the devotee. I was not a perſon on whom theſe arts were to be played off; I neither flattered her pride, nor ſoothed her reſentment; I began with the greateſt of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herſelf to the enemies of the ſtate; I told her, that ſhe would have reaſon to think herſelf happy, if her puniſhment was confined to a permiſſion to baniſh herſelf out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her, till ſhe had ſubmitted to be examined as a criminal, and aſked the King's pardon for her diſobedience

I proceeded, in the next place, to her inſolent behaviour towards the Queen. I made her ſenſible, that to offend, as ſhe had done, a princeſs, who was her Queen and miſtreſs *, by a thouſand injurious reflections, was to attack the King himſelf, and expoſe her own perſon to a ſevere puniſhment: I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herſelf to the Queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and inſolent behaviour; and eſpecially her malignity in ſowing diſcord between their Majeſties: and added, that ſhe would be compelled to throw herſelf at the Queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults ſhe had committed againſt her.

Nor did I ſpare her upon her pretended devotion to which ſhe had recourſe, not ſcrupling, at

reign of Henry IV. "On ſearching her cabinets," adds the ſame author, "and making an inventory of all her papers, many love-letters (the implements of her trade) were found amongſt them, ſome "of which were from S. gogne, which occaſioned his diſgrace."

* "She ſometimes ſaid, that if juſtice were done her, ſhe ought to "be in the place of that clumſy tradeſwoman." Pereſixe.

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the ſame time, to violate her principal duties to the King, the Queen, and the ſtate. I told her plainly, that this ſhew of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her ſee that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly, to deprive her of her uſual excuſe, that they exiſted only in the jealous imagination of the King; and thence drew a new ſubject of ſhame and confuſion for her with regard to this prince, whom ſhe ſo groſsly abuſed. I ſhewed her what ſhe would have done, if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and aſſured her, that his Majeſty would never have oppoſed her retreat into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any ſigns of true devotion.

I gave her, at length, all ſorts of good counſels, which indeed ſhe did not deſire, nor was diſpoſed to follow. She ought, at leaſt, to have appeared willing to do ſo; but ſhe contented herſelf with anſwering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with great indifference, that ſhe thanked me, and would conſider of what I had ſaid. When I asked her what cauſes of complaint ſhe had received, that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the King? her anſwer was, that if the King had asked her this queſtion, he would have been to blame, ſince he knew them better than any other perſon; and if it came from myſelf, I was no leſs ſo, ſince I had no means of ſatisfying it.

Continuing ſtill to queſtion her, I asked what it was that ſhe requeſted of his Majeſty? She anſwered, that although ſhe knew well the King's inclinations would not be conformable to her's on this article, yet ſhe ſtill perſiſted to demand permiſſion for herſelf, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and ſettle themſelves ſomewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that

that he suffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest article. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me, that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself farther, as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said, that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the Queen should not have the satisfaction to know, that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted, that an estate in lands should be given her of an hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the King. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I had never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the Marchioness of Verneuil; but I could no help laying some stress upon her repeated request, to be allowed to settle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced, that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue * could be unravelled;

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV. lose a favourable opportunity of getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompierre's memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. 1. p. 90. "The "King asked whether he should give Madam de Verneuil any thing "to enable her to marry a prince, who, she told him, was willing to "have her, provided she had a hundred thousand crowns more than "she then was worth? M. de Bellievre said, Sire, I am of opinion "it will be well worth your while to give that lady a hundred thou-"sand crowns, if she can find a good match by that mean, to which

unravelled; and all which now remained to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the Marchioness, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquillity of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages: ought the effort then to be so painful? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I went to his Majesty; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all his uneasiness. I was not surprised to find, that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it: what did I not say to this prince? What persuasion did I not use? policy, interest, quiet, reason, each of these motives I dwelt upon, and exhausted all: I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family; I repeated circumstances so much the more likely to rekindle his anger, as they had already often produced that effect; the harsh epithets he had given the Countess d'Entragues and her daughters; the intrigues so well known, and so incontestable, that had given cause for them; the sum of money granted by his order to pay for an imaginary sacrifice in the first favour, which he confessed, at the same time, was

" M. de Sully answering, that it was an easy matter to talk of a " hundred thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out the means " to raise them, the chancellor without taking notice of what he " said, went on: Sire, I am of opinion, that you should take two " hundred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient, " three hundred thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be " sufficient, and give them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, " I repeat it, is my advice. The King repented afterwards he did " not follow this advice." But supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady's, I believe it miscarried through Henry IV.'s fault rather than the Duke of Sully's.

no longer in the power of his miſtreſs to beſtow; the untimely birth of the infant by a ſtorm, and other anecdotes of the ſame nature, capable of diſguſting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a diſcourſe ſo pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, ſo convincing; all my tenderneſs for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the ſhame I ſaw ready to overwhelm him; I entreated, I implored, every power of perſuaſion I exerted: I was not diſcouraged by an ineffectual attempt: again I returned to the charge: my zeal became perſecution: and ſometimes carried me out of myſelf, as it did in a converſation we had in the garden, belonging to the conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we ſpoke ſo loud, as to be heard by Baſtien and Brunault.

Nothing was ever more ſingular or incomprehenſible; a prince, whoſe great qualities might ſerve as a model for other monarchs to form themſelves upon, reduces us to the neceſſity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confeſſing that it diſhonours the other. I take, without heſitation, this laſt path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myſelf under an obligation to do it; and ſhould think I had laboured but by halves for the inſtruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into ſhade. I therefore open to them the receſſes of that heart, where ſo much greatneſs was blended with ſo much weakneſs, that, by the contraſt, each may become more conſpicuous; and that they may be upon their guard againſt that dangerous paſſion, ſo capable of inſpiring ſhameful affections, and of tainting their ſouls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealouſy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies; Henry, that man on every other occaſion ſo upright, ſo open, ſo ſincere, became acquainted with all theſe vices, when he abandoned himſelf

to

to love. I often found that he deceived me by falſe confidences, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reaſon, and reſolutions which his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be aſhamed of his fetters, when he ſecretly vowed never to break them.

It was but too true, that he was infected with that jealouſy his miſtreſs publicly reproached him with. This was eaſy to be perceived by the efforts he made to ſupplant rivals, whom he was too weak to deſpiſe, and too timid to puniſh. *Aut Cæſar, aut nihil*, ſays he in one of his letters to me. What a ſtrange contraſt of caprices and extravagancies! He was convinced that the Marchioneſs of Verneuil had recourſe to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertiniſm; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thouſand cruel and inſupportable wounds; but he felt, no leſs forcibly, the delight which the deſire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart

One of theſe caprices which moſt ſurpriſed me, and perſuaded me, that it was abſolutely impoſſible to cure this unhappy prince, was, that at thoſe very times, when he appeared moſt cool and indifferent in all he ſaid of his miſtreſs, yet the letters he wrote to be ſhewn to her, expreſſed the quite contrary ſentiments. I have made the ſame obſervation of the Marchioneſs, but with leſs ſurpriſe. It muſt be therefore, that theſe lovers, amidſt the wildeſt tranſports of their anger, could not hinder themſelves from ſtill depending a little upon the latent tenderneſs of each other; and that their tenderneſs ſtill ſubſiſted without their perceiving it themſelves; or that the King, ingenious in finding out methods to debaſe himſelf, had a long time before furniſhed his miſtreſs with arms againſt him, which he would not oblige her to make uſe of, by driving her to extremities; or laſtly, and this is the leaſt unfavour-

able judgement that can be formed of this prince, that ſome private tranſactions had paſſed between them, which Henry, through regret or ſhame, could not reſolve to impart to me, or to any one whatever.

I have thrown together all that relates to the preſent ſubject, although part of the facts, as has been ſeen, ſuch as the ſeizing of the Count d'Auvergne, and the proceſs carried on againſt his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration ſo frequently *. I ſhall reſume it at the beginning of

* I here ſubjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV. and the conſpiracy of the Count of Auvergne. This writer aſſerts, mem. recond. vol. I. p. 297. that one object of this conſpiracy was to ſeize the King's perſon, by laying an ambuſcade for him, and then putting him to death; and that D'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make uſe of the paſſion he had diſcovered the King to have newly conceived for his ſecond daughter, who is repreſented as much handſomer than her ſiſter, to draw him into the ſnare. He therefore ſent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no queſtion but the King would expoſe himſelf to any danger to come to ſee her at Maleſherbes, which place is but three leagues diſtant from that palace: and truly, Henry immediately ſet meſſage after meſſage to Mademoiſelle d'Entragues, by ſome of his courtiers diſguiſed in the habit of peaſants. Her anſwer to which was, that ſhe was ſo cloſely watched, that there was not the leaſt probability of her being able to ſee the King. At laſt he could not forbear going there in perſon, accompanied by Marechal Baſſompierre; and not daring to go into the houſe for fear of being diſcovered, he was obliged to content himſelf with ſpeaking to her at the window of a lower room; he wrote to her every day, and ſent her verſes of gallantry, which he got the beſt poets of the court to compoſe for him. At laſt they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed, at a certain place, in a meadow named by the King, where they might be at full liberty, and where he promiſed to come in diſguiſe. D'Entragues ſeemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance: but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her ſome reaſon to ſuſpect his deſign, whether ſhe really loved the King, or was apprehenſive of the conſequences, ſhe broke off the appointment, and took other precautions againſt the danger to which Henry IV. was going to expoſe himſelf on her account. The King, wearied out by ſo many obſtacles to his wiſhes, renewed his amour with the Marchioneſs of Verneuil; and, if we may believe Siri, often was expoſed to the ſame dangers with

of the following year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an account of some other matters very different from those I have been treating.

BOOK XIX.

SInce the year 1602, the King looking out for a safe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues, and the money which he destined for the execution of his designs, fixed upon

her: one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hands of fifteen or sixteen of D'Entragues's relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes, with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject.

Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her of Henry IV's mistresses, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa: and there are still some original pieces of poetry in being, which he sent her; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first verses.

" Je ne sçais par où commencer,
" A louer votre grande beauté;
" Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été,
" Que vous ne puissez effacer, &c.

What tongue can tell, what words express,
The beauties of thy charming face;
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foil to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the handwriting of Henry IV. that it was made by Collin, a poet whose pen that prince often was pleased to make use of in works of this kind, these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

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the Baſtile, where he ordered cheſts to be made, and all other neceſſary conveniencies: for this article he was obliged to publiſh a regulation that might bring this new diſpoſition of money into method, to prevent the confuſion of different offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts; the regulation was thus.

No money was to be carried to the Baſtile but that which remained clear in the King's hands; all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, being firſt taken out of the revenues of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treaſurer in office, in the preſence of the ſuperintendant of the finances, and the comptroller-general; who, at that time, was John de Vienne; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treaſurer had likewiſe a third; when his year of office was over he received a certificate, ſigned by me and Vienne, of the ſums that had been put in the King's cheſts during his adminiſtration; this he put into the hands of his ſucceſſor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to ſhew as his diſcharge. The new treaſurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inſpecting the money contained in the treaſury; upon this acquittance, the treaſurer was authoriſed to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to paſs without further examination.

His Majeſty was of opinion, that he ought early to publiſh his intentions and juſtify his conduct, both with reſpect to that accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were ſtill to be made in the finances. This was done in a council-extraordinarily aſſembled for this purpoſe. The Chancellor received from the King, and publiſhed, the liſt of thoſe who were to compoſe the council, conſiſting of deputies

deputies of the ſovereign courts of Paris, named by his Majeſty, the principal members of his council, and the chief adminiſtrators of juſtice, the revenues and police. They met on the appointed day in the great cloſet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the King's chamber. When they were all aſſembled the King came in, and having ordered the whole aſſembly to be ſeated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct, in a diſcourſe of which this is the ſubſtance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to ſuch a ſtate, that the annual income was ſcarce ſufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was neceſſary therefore to improve the ſtate of affairs, not only by inquiries and proſecutions, which had already ſo far benefited the nation, that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewiſe to form new funds, that if there ſhould either happen a war of conſequence, or a troubleſome minority, the King might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs ſink into their former confuſion, to ſupport the expences which could not otherwiſe be raiſed for this purpoſe; that the beſt uſe was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded; that the means neceſſary to this, which however ſhould be practiſed, without doing any miſchief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the ſtate on ſeveral pretences, the reimburſement of offices, and the reſumption of crown-lands, that had been given away.

His Majeſty was reſolved to begin by examining the ſeveral grants of revenues; and this was to be entered upon this very year: Upon this head he let fall an expreſſion to prepare their minds for the juſt ſeverity of this procedure, by ſaying, that in the firſt place he ſhould endeavour to make a rigorous diſcrimination between thoſe that had really paid

paid in money the principal of the arrears, which they were now receiving back from the King's revenues, and those who had made false claims upon the King. Henry added, that he reckoned so much upon the œconomy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he considered a design which required the amassing of large sums in the treasury, as by no means inconsistent with his purpose of easing the people by lessening the taxes which he should always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the assembly to assist such just and upright intentions, and directed that they should twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this proposition, and at the end of that time, should lay before him the result of their deliberation. He promised to follow any good scheme that should be offered, with the same sincerity which he had discovered in imparting his own; and not to forget those who should give proofs on this occasion of their regard for the public.

Assemblies of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great use, since they serve, it may be said, no other purposes than to notify to the ministers, with less appearance of absolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a secret council. This very assembly did not escape this reflection; the proposal of the King, though in itself unquestionably just, and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its usefulness. I know not what will be said on this occasion by the assertors of the authority of the people, but I, for my part, am of opinion, and multitudes of instances like this sufficiently prove it to be just, that the designs of a good and wise king must not be, at all times and in every situation, the same with those of the people. The considerations which

regulate popular opinions are seldom free from interest or passion, and never, or almost never, reach farther than the present. Those who judge best are themselves deceived by their own sense of interest, and seem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confess, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own satisfaction, without any care about the future.

This corruption arises from the desire of present happiness, a desire natural to man; and unhappily it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be just reasons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and sometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offensive to the common people, and even to those who, though they have more knowledge, have the same passions with the vulgar? The case is otherwise with a wise and good King, or with a minister who represents him, and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of the subjects, but he always knows, that by catching too soon at happiness it is almost always missed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by such mistaken precipitations, and the vexations merely ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by those that think they want something. Happy is the public when it is governed by such principles of policy, as put it in the way to tranquillity; all regard to short-lived and transitory advantage is cast aside in consideration of general good, and a wise king is not less a father of those subjects who shall live at the distance of three or four generations, than of those who live in his own time; and considers the false tenderness which he might have shewn to his own time, at the expence of succeeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour

of ſome of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

The ſcheme which Henry had formed for the intereſt of his kingdom, making it neceſſary that he ſhould take all meaſures to increaſe his revenues, inſtead of making all thoſe defalcations about which ſome who pretended great zeal for his ſervice were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to diſcover ſome ſources of large profit which would very little burden the people; of theſe I put nine into a memorial which I preſented to his Majeſty, as follows.

1. The contractors who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of ſeveral employments which they repreſented as neceſſary, miſapplied the money which they had received, and made thoſe ſums paſs in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was repreſented as having received them, though not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of ſeveral millions. Of theſe accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact reviſal, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able ſo completely to conceal themſelves under the different names by which they carried on their robberies, but that I ſhould be able to trace them.

2. The clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbiſhops, and biſhops, accuſed Caſtille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been preſented to me, was accompanied with an account of the articles of accuſation ſo poſitively and clearly ſtated, that nothing remained but that the King ſhould reclaim the immenſe ſum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled.

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3, All the managers of the finances, and the people of buſineſs, particularly the treaſurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be aſſociated with Caſtille, by the erection of a chamber of juſtice; which muſt produce great advantages, if private intrigues, and ſecret artifices could be kept out, by which theſe inquiries are often defeated.

4. The abuſes in the alienation of the King's lands were ſo groſs, that many of thoſe who had them in their hands held them by mere uſurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price ſo ſcandalouſly low, that they were repaid by the income of the very firſt year at ſix *per cent* which was the intereſt then current. Of this I made his Majeſty fully ſenſible, who would not ſuffer theſe alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to conſent to the reſumption of all thoſe poſſeſſions, or to ſome meaſures for obliging the poſſeſſors to pay the true price.

5. In the other offices and employments there was the ſame corruption to be removed by the ſame means; the perſons in poſſeſſion were to be obliged to ſupply the deficiencies of their firſt payment in proportion to their ſalaries, or to give back their employments for the ſame ſum for which they had purchaſed them.

6 The debts due to the Swiſs cantons were, by a bad regulation, ſo far from being leſſened, that they had been always increaſing I had already made ſuch an alteration in that part of our affairs, that by the ſeaſonable payment of one million, I had obtained an acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the ſame method with the reſt, the public was ſoon cleared of that debt

7. As it was eaſy for the King to recover the poſſeſſion of the crown lands that were alienated, ſo it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know

not how many little parts of them, consisting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expences for repairs, leases, and receiving, sometimes under pretence of prosecutions, sometimes, of drawbacks, and improvements were risen, by the connivance of the treasurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to such a prodigious heighth, that according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part must have been added, before a single penny could come to the King. This was the chief source of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all these parts at the rate for money settled by the last edict, the King would be more than doubly a gainer, because he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in, those parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at ten per cent.

8. The profit was yet greater with respect to the resumption of the royal revenues that had been alienated; some of the contractors had offered me to purchase them back to the King for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the sum, provided he would let them take their choice of the part to be purchased, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would restore them to the crown clear of all debts and incumbrance. The King, instead of accepting their proposal, had nothing to do but to get himself the money which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. France had in her hand the infallible means of drawing to herself all the commerce of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and to see them, without any great expence, in the middle of her provinces: all this would cost her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saone, and from the Saone to the Meuse;

Meuse *; and the first glance of this project presents us with more than two millions a year, which we should get from Spain alone, and which would be real and solid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce.

I entered into a long series of particulars, when I gave in my report to the King; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the reality of some of the revenues which were not comprised in these articles. The Prince, who certainly expected a very different scheme, and whose natural liveliness of temper kept him from attending to my discourse so closely as was necessary, raised

* Before the Duke of Sully came into the ministry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheless, it must be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed farther. Perhaps nothing will contribute so much to render the reign of Lewis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two seas: the great benefits resulting to the nation from these undertakings, so happily executed, passing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be farther done, and at the same time proves, that however difficult attempts of this nature may appear, they are yet far from being impossible.

The joining rivers, and making roads, which render the communication either of different province, or different parts of the same province, more easy and commodious, are perhaps the two most important objects to which a wise government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by employing the soldiery, who are at such times useless, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always so, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate expence. Idleness, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, at the same time will be banished from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it.

It is necessary there should be some principal centre for the riches of a nation; but nevertheless other cities should not fall a sacrifice to the capital; which being in the body politic what the heart is in the human body constantly receiving the blood, and as constantly propelling it, even to the most extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the whole machine. Much trouble might be saved in studying the nature of those secret springs which give motion to the most minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that simple and obvious principle, of only supplying the country-people with the means of living in ease and plenty.

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at first a thousand difficulties to all my designs; he said, that indeed the schemes were great, but some of them were wild and unsettled; others of no great profit; some difficult to be executed, and some hard to be made consistent with each other. All this was because he did not understand them. I knew well enough what his Majesty was wanting, and what proposal would have suited his inclination: an augmentation of the customs, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown-lands: if I would have shewn him a scheme which I had myself drawn up upon these means of raising money, I might have brought fourscore millions of ready coin into his coffers, besides sixty millions more by letting a lease of five millions a year, to which I had raised six of his farms above their former value But I easily brought the King to allow, that though these methods were easily practicable, they were at the same time very burthensome to the people; that we ought not to have recourse to them but in the most pressing exigencies; and that the leisure of a time of peace should be employed in carrying on measures that required more time and application. Such were the nine schemes that I had laid before him, of which I assured him, that although he seemed to rate them at so little, yet if they were skilfully managed and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

The King fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-establishment of the public revenue, when I had shewn, by good extracts and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would, without the least injustice, bring six millions into the royal treasury. He engaged in this afterwards so warmly, that he shewed the highest impatience to begin, and never writ me a letter in which he did not mention it. To succeed in this

I thought it neceſſary that a new council or office ſhould be erected: to this an oppoſition was made by the chamber of accounts; but no regard was had to their arguments. This council was compoſed of Chateau-neuf, Calignon and Jeannin, the preſidents De Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of Rebours; a treaſurer, and a regiſter, who were Le Gras, and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it, and preſent at it as often as my other buſineſs would give me leave; but whether I was there or not, every thing went forward according to a ſcheme which I had drawn as the rule * of their operations. All our proceeding would be tedious to relate; it is ſufficient to ſay, that I had made a clear and exact diſtinction between the grants made at different times and from different funds; ſome had been bought for the payment of the third part of their price in ready money, ſome for half, others for the whole ſum; there were ſome that had coſt their poſſeſſors very little, ſome were obtained by mere fraud, and others honeſtly procured; theſe laſt were never touched otherwiſe than to ſettle them more ſecurely according to their original condition; as for the reſt, according to the degree of fraud and injuſtice with which they had been procured, we either ſtruck them entirely off, or ordered the full purchaſe to be paid; there were ſome, of which the poſſeſſors were obliged to pay back the arrears, which they had ſo unjuſtly got into their poſſeſſion; and others, who for having embezzled the arrears were obliged to deduct them from the principal, which it was ſo much eaſier to pay off. The public gained another advantage, by ſuppreſſing a number of receivers of the revenue, who were an uſeleſs burden upon it, and of whom I left only one remaining.

* A more particular detail is given of theſe regulations, in the old memoirs; thoſe concerned in the revenue may there have an opportunity of conſulting them.

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The inquiry which I had ſchemed out againſt monopolizers and officers of the revenue was afterwards carried on by the erection of a chamber of juſtice; but as the corrupt management of ſolicitation and interceſſion was not cut off, nothing was produced, but the common conſequence, the chief criminals eſcaped, and thoſe who were leſs conſiderable ſuffered all the ſeverity of the law: ſome remedy was found for this abuſe, at leaſt in the time immediately following my inquiry; for I took great care, that when any man was found guilty of corruption he ſhould be immediately puniſhed. Exact information was given of thoſe that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all theſe ſtrokes of art the name that they deſerved; and thoſe unlawful gains which had ſo long impoveriſhed France, and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated, without ceremony, as robbery and rapine; and Honeſty began to ſhew her head in a ſanctuary where ſhe had never reſided before.

The treaſurers of France having this year preſented their accounts full of blanks for non-payment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much ſuſpected of diſhoneſty, than to aſſign them theſe pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whoſe place was given to Montauban, and ſome other ſtrokes of the ſame kind, taught the chief of theſe men of buſineſs to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree paſſed againſt one Le-Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of an hundred thouſand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the King's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles du Han, farmer-general of the five great farms, to the chief perſons intereſted in the revenue, and the other farms of the King at Paris, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I complained to the King of an invaſion made by the parliament of Toulouſe on his authority, by forbidding any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treaſurers of the province, becauſe it threatened the ruin of the foreign cuſtoms, the farmers of which demanded a very conſiderable abatement: it likewiſe reduced both the galleys and the garriſons into difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom.

The four hundred thouſand livres raiſed by augmenting the taille, into which half of the tax of a penny in the ſhilling had been changed; continued ſtill to be paid; as likewiſe the other half, laid upon merchandiſes; though the edict by which theſe taxes were eſtabliſhed was ſettled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made repreſentations to the King upon this account: they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily iſſued by the council; and which they repreſented as more dangerous to the public, than the taille itſelf. I allow, for my part, that their complaints were juſt, and had myſelf remonſtrated to the King long before them. He had written two letters upon this ſubject, one to the council, in which he ſhewed them, that the preſent ſtate of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the preſent year; and the other to me, to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I gave him what aſſiſtance was in my power, as grand maſter of the ordnance. The arſenal was at that time ſtored with an hundred pieces of cannon; there were in the galleries, ſmall arms for fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; and at the Temple and at the Baſtile, were two millions of

pounds of powder, and a hundred thouſand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the arſenal, he ſeemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies that threatened him: but I ſhewed him the formidable ſtore, by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then demanded a liſt of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a ſummary account of his ready money, and what could be added to it, in the years 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my ſecretaries write theſe minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

The regulation and diſcipline of the ſoldiers was an article of government moſt neceſſary to be conſidered in order to its reformation. It is hard to conceive, that, in a nation which from its firſt eſtabliſhment has been engaged in war, and has indeed purſued no other trade than that of arms, no care ſhould have been hitherto taken to form and methodiſe them. Whatever related to the ſoldiery of France, was offenſive and diſguſting. The foot ſoldiers were enliſted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel, their pay was unjuſtly withheld, they heard of nothing but a priſon, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet. This treatment drove them into all methods of deſertion, which was prevented only by the prevots, who kept them in their camp like men beſieged: the officers themſelves being ill paid, had ſome kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often ſay, and he ſpoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well ſerved, till the troops were put into another ſtate.

The firſt point, on which this new regulation muſt depend, was exactneſs of payments, which the King began by ſettling it ſo, that, for the future, it could neither be delayed, nor the money appointed for it applied to any other uſe. This regulation was followed by another equally juſt,

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and equally proper, to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a proviſion made for the relief of ſoldiers, when, by wounds or ſickneſs contracted in the ſervice, they were unable to live either by war or labour: things were managed ſo, that, in this ſtate of miſery, they wanted nothing, either for their maintenance or their cure *.

The liberty with which I have expreſſed myſelf concerning the King's faults, gives me a right to praiſe him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of œconomy, and therefore practiſed them without any conſtraint; particular details of buſineſs were to him merely an amuſement. Princes who engage perſonally in the adminiſtration of government, fall commonly into one of theſe two inconveniencies; either they are incapable of ſubmitting to moderate views, or they cannot raiſe them to any heighth. The mind of Henry adapted itſelf with the ſame eaſe to things

* By the King's edict, dated the 7th of July 1605 (for poſſibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after) his Majeſty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and ſoldiers diſabled in his ſervice, the royal houſe of Chriſtian charity, built with the money ariſing from the ſurplus of the accounts of hoſpitals, alms-houſes, and ſpitals for lepers, &c. and from the penſions of lay-monks, and the oblats *: the ſuperintendence of it belonged to the high conſtable of France. This eſtabliſhment has ſince been changed, or rather totally aboliſhed, by what Lewis the Great ſubſtituted in its ſtead, in building and endowing the royal hoſpital of Mars, or the Invalids, a monument alone ſufficient to immortalize his memory. The houſe of Chriſtian charity was before this only an hoſpital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III. for maimed ſoldiers; it ſtood in the ſuburbs of Saint Marcellus, in the ſtreet called rue de l'Ourſine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV. alſo cauſed the hoſpital of St Lewis to be built; for this purpoſe, he granted to the Hotel Dieu, ten ſous on every minot † of ſalt, within the diſtrict of Paris, during fifteen years, and five ſous for ever.

"* Lay monks or oblats, were ſoldiers diſabled in the King's ſervice, who had the maintenance of a monk aſſigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their ſervice."

"† A minot of ſalt contains four French buſhels, and is ſomething leſs than an Engliſh buſhel."

ſmall or great, of which his letters give ſufficient evidence, and a way that was then uſed of applying to him immediately, ſometimes for mere trifles, ſhew it ſtill more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine merchant of Giſors, who had formerly furniſhed the houſhold with wine. His Majeſty ſent me to pay him, and to recompence him for the delay; "My "conſcience," ſays he, "obliges me to pity that "poor man" I have, perhaps, told too many of theſe kind of ſtories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure, if I preſented to the public all the letters which the King wrote to me.

As to thoſe other ideas that had a higher object, either of intereſt, of glory, or public happineſs, the King never loſt ſight of them, either in his vexations or his pleaſures: that he might know whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many inquiries; and concluded at laſt, that I ſhould give him an enumeration of all thoſe things, by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be deſtroyed or ſullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention, than that of preſenting him a ſketch, written with ſuch ſimplicity, and with ſuch few uſeleſs ornaments of ſtyle, that he might at once glance it over: it contained an enumeration, without proof or expoſition, of thoſe abuſes which commonly find their way into public affairs I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may ſerve as a compendium of the principles, which they have ſeen, and muſt expect to ſee, diffuſed through theſe memoirs.

The cauſes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are, exorbitant ſubſidies, monopolies, chiefly thoſe relating to corn; neglect of merchandiſe, trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactories; the great number of public employments, the fees, and exceſſive

ceſſive authority of men in office; the coſt, the delay, and the injuſtice of tribunals; idleneſs, luxury, and all that is connected with it, debauchery and corruption of manners, confuſion of ranks, changes of the value of money, unjuſt and imprudent wars, the deſpotic power of ſovereigns, their blind adherence to particular perſons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or profeſſions; the greedineſs of miniſters and favourites, the degradations of perſons of quality: contempt and neglect of men of letters; the connivance at bad cuſtoms, and infraction of good laws; an obſtinate adherence to cuſtoms, either miſchievous or indifferent; and the multiplicity of edicts and uſeleſs regulations.

If I was to chuſe among all the forms of government, of which this monarchy has furniſhed examples, I ſhould propoſe Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the Auguſt, and Charles * the Sage; and I ſhould wiſh that the eye might never fall ſo low, as upon the reign of Charles VIII. and our times; and if I was to eſtabliſh a ſingle principle of government, it ſhould be this, "That good laws and good manners produce each other." But ſuch is our unhappineſs, that we never perceive this valuable con-

* It would perhaps have been ſtill better, to have alſo rejected the three firſt of theſe, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV. and the Duke of Sully, we ſhall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on thoſe of a true Spartan: the maxims here laid down diſcover a mixture of both theſe principles. I have obſerved before, what correctives were neceſſary to modify the too auſtere temper of the Duke of Sully: I ſhall here take the ſame liberty with the too warlike diſpoſition of Henry IV. A military ſpirit is undoubtedly neceſſary to defend a ſtate; it ought therefore to be nouriſhed with the utmoſt care; but it ſhould notwithſtanding be kept in the ſame ſtate we do a maſtiff, for the defence of our houſe, that is, chained up, and very ſeldom indulged with the liberty of purſuing its own courſe, leſt it ſhould turn upon its maſters, and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almoſt the ſame effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle, that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the ſame end can be obtained by them.

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nection, till corruption and abuſes have been carried together to the higheſt points; ſo that, among men, the principle of good ariſes always from the extremity of evil.

The regulations for the augmentation and ſecuring of commerce, appearing to Henry to be of the firſt importance to the public, he laid out the greateſt part of his care upon them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire *, being ratified, I removed myſelf to thoſe parts, that there might be no miſtake in the preparations that were previous to the execution; whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I ſpent but little time in this journey; for the King recalled me as ſoon almoſt as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated ſeveral affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

Of theſe affairs, the moſt important and moſt perplexing, was an unforeſeen quarrel which hap-

* This is the canal of Briare, which from that little town runs to Montargis, about ten leagues diſtant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret: but this part of the deſign was left unexecuted, and the canal itſelf was neglected, after more than three hundred thouſand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice of thoſe who envied M. de Roſny, or, according to Mezerai, through the change that happened in the miniſtry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has ſince been reſumed, and at length finiſhed. M. de Thou beſtows great commendation on M. de Sully, for being the inventor of this deſign, b. cxxii. A further proof of this may be drawn from the ſilver and copper-plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the ſluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The Count of Buron, one of the parties intereſted in this canal, ſent the copper ones to the preſent Duke of Sully, which are now in the Duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the ſilver ones on account of their value. One of theſe copper medals is charged with the Duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inſcription: "1607. Maximilian de "Bethune, under the reign of Henry IV. by the hands of Meſſire "Peter Ozon, at this time mayor and governor of Montargis le-"Franc." The Duke of Sully has alſo lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal.

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pened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The King of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty *per cent.* upon all French goods imported to Spain or Flanders; as likewiſe upon all goods exported from theſe two ſtates into France; a heavy impoſition, which was at once an inſult upon our nation, and tended to revolt the minds of his own ſubjects. The King returned it by expreſsly prohibiting all commerce with the ſubjects of Spain, and the arch duchies, and by a duty ſtill larger upon all the Spaniſh goods landed at Calais: but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriages of our proviſions to the enemy's country. The French merchants, notwithſtanding the new monopoly, ſtill found there were ſuch great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the ſcarcity of them in Spain, that they expoſed themſelves, for thoſe profits, to all the rigour of the law; and, on that account, there was a kind of ſedition raiſed in the city of Marſeille, of which the Preſident Du-Vair ſent immediate notice to the court. The merchants of this city loſt all patience, when they found themſelves obliged to ſit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their proviſions, and deprived them of their uſual profits. This permiſſion, which was granted by his Majeſty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged.

The Engliſh were pleaſed at this new incident; and ſo far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they ſecretly ſtrove to make it worſe, becauſe they carried on the ſame trade fradulently, which the Italians were authoriſed to do. It was diſcovered, that eight or nine Engliſh veſſels had taken in their loadings of grain at Olone, and went from thence to Saint Sebaſtian, to diſembark them: this, doubtleſs, was the reſource the Spaniards depended upon, otherwiſe their prohibition

hibition would have fallen heavy upon themſelves, which, Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himſelf would happen : and it was the hope, that Spain would ſuffer more from it than we, joined to his ſolicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be ſaid his enemies could diſpoſe of its commerce, which made him ſtill require a ſtrict obſervation of the prohibition he had publiſhed. He commanded me to ſend a perſon of probity and underſtanding, to viſit all that part of the country, from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of theſe two rivers, to ſee that this ordinance was punctually obeyed ; and he was empowered to puniſh all that ſhould be found to have acted contrary to it; thoſe being generally the places where ſuch illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commiſſion to La-Font, who executed it ſo well, that his Majeſty kept him afterwards about his own perſon.

Henry, at the ſame time, ordered his ambaſſador in England to complain to King James, of the practices of his ſubjects; and to give him to underſtand, that, if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himſelf the trade we carried on with that kingdom, he would take ſuch meaſures that France ſhould not ſuffer alone, but that England ſhould loſe more by it than her. This was tacitly to deſire, that he would offer his mediation to compoſe the difference between the two crowns; for Henry thought it probable, that the King of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage of ſuch an acceſſion to the trade of his kingdom as to make peace with Spain ; and he was now ſenſible, though too late, of the injury he had done himſelf, and that the arguments his council had made uſe of were all falſe : this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroi and Sillery were appointed by his Majeſty, to attend this affair with the utmoſt aſſiduity ; and I likewiſe was ordered

dered to confer about it with the Conſtable, the Chancellor, the Commandeur de Chaſtes, and Vice-admiral de Vic.

We found many difficulties to ſtruggle with on both ſides. Trade muſt neceſſarily ſuffer great injury, if the prohibition remained in force; and if repealed, great ſhame muſt reflect upon the crown. Henry could not reſolve to do any thing that, in his opinion, ſeemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, which had not condeſcended to take any ſtep that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was, that, although he ſuffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abuſed this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade, was the only thing almoſt that I conſidered: therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me: and I repreſented to his Majeſty, that the damage we muſt inevitable ſuſtain, made it neceſſary that he ſhould uſe no more ſeverity with the one than the other.

The King of England did not refuſe his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promiſes both parties ſhould make on this occaſion: but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns; and the King, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation, but in the quality of a common friend. The Pope likewiſe began to intereſt himſelf greatly in the diſpute. being apprehenſive that a more dangerous rupture might enſue between France and Spain. He wrote to Cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it; and this cardinal, a ſhort time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him.

The Count of Beaumont, who ſtill continued to be our ambaſſador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late diſpute concerning our trade, in the preſence of the Counts de Villa-mediana and d'Aremberg, the one ambaſſador from the King of Spain, the other from the Archdukes; and had even drawn up a kind of an agreement with their concurrence, together with that of the Preſident Richardot, and Lewis Vroreylzen, which had been communicated to the Conſtable of Caſtile, who was likewiſe at London: but this ſudden departure, together with ſome other difficulties that came in the way hindered this matter from proceeding ſo far as to get the preliminary of this agreement ſigned. The Conſtable of Caſtile paſſed through Paris, and had an interview there with Cardinal Bufalo, who preſſed him ſo earneſtly, and upon ſo many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promiſe from him, that it ſhould be referred to the examination of ſome commiſſioners, whom he named for the King his maſter; the council of France appointed ſome on their ſide. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a concluſion, which, by being ſubmitted to ſo many arbitrators, was protracted to an inſufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon Don Baltaſar Stuniga, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a ſenator of Milan, who were intereſted in a cauſe for one of the parties, to refer every thing relating to it to him; this done, that the buſineſs might on the ſide of the other party be wholly conſigned to one perſon, he deſired the King to give me a power equal to his, and without any adjunct: from that time the affair was thought to be in great forwardneſs. I went to viſit the Cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him, that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his Majeſty was buſied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon

upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was secured: these articles were almost the same with those that had been proposed and discussed at London.

The substance of this treaty, for such it became afterwards, although every thing had been agreed on only beween Cardinal Bufalo and myself, was, that the edict of thirty *per cent.* and that for the suspension of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, should be and continue repealed; this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to justify their conduct by many reciprocal complaints against each other, which likewise related to the trade of their kingdoms: many other articles were added, that tended to remove these grievances.

It was specified, that his most Christian Majesty should publish an edict, forbidding all his subjects either to export or authorise the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any state under the dominion of that crown, by lending vessels, waggons, or any other sort of carriages; that the real French goods should be stamped with the seal of the city which furnished them, and should be inserted in a register; this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniencies which might arise from a resemblance in the goods, which otherwise should be liable to confiscation; but they were not upon a bare suspicion of fraud to stop or retard the exportation of these goods; that all the Dutch, who were taken in French vessels, should be seized; that the French should not carry Spanish goods into any part of the Low-Countries, but those that should be specified in the bills; and that, to prevent any breach of faith, they should enter into an obligation in writing before the Spanish magistrate of the place from whence they set out, to pay the thirty *per cent.* which obligation should be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate

from the magiſtrate of the place where they diſembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the King of France ſhould order all Spaniſh goods to be ſeized, which were brought by his ſubjects in Spain, to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which ſhould be given to the informer, the thirty *per cent.* deducted; that the French magiſtrate, who ſhould be convicted of having given falſe certificates of diſcharge, ſhould be proſecuted and puniſhed; and that the two Kings ſhould mutually engage to leave the places of paſſage free. The article of the impoſts, which ever ſince the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais: and when they entered this port, having been already ſettled in the preſence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was ſtipulated, that forty days after the date of this treaty, it ſhould be publiſhed in the reſpective ſtates on the ſame day: it was dated the 12th of October, and ſigned at firſt only by Cardinal Bufalo and me *.

Although I was very ſure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been firſt conſulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehenſive of the cavils of Sillery, and the other commiſſioners, from whom the cogniſance of this affair had been taken; the expedient I made uſe of therefore was, to ſend Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil requeſt, that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, anſwered quickly, that the affair was in very

* See the treaty itſelf in the Chronologie Septennaire. The King gives the Marquis de Roſny no other titles in it but that of Great Maſter and Captain General of the ordnance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did not ſign it, but only Meſſieurs de Roſny and de Sillery; Don Balthazar de Cuniga, for the King of Spain; and the Senator Rovidius. Matthieu. vol. II. b. iii. p. 655.

good

good hands, and that the perſon who had tranſacted it alone, might alſo conclude it alone. This anſwer would not ſatisfy me; I ſent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me neceſſary, that the treaty ſhould be ſigned by him, and the other commiſſioners firſt named, and that I entreated he would come to my houſe and ſign it; but that if he refuſed, I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from ſending the treaty to his Majeſty by Arnaud; letting him know at the ſame time, that the difficulty he made in ſigning it would delay the concluſion for two days: and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid, that if any accident ſhould happen during this interval that might prevent this agreement on trade from taking effect, he ſhould be anſwerable for it, went to Cardinal Bufalo's houſe, and ſigned the treaty, as did alſo Villeroi.

The King, when he received a copy of theſe articles, confirmed by theſe free ſignatures, beſtowed great praiſes on the Cardinal nuncio, and made him a preſent of a croſs of diamonds; he recommended him to the Pope, in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him, and honoured him with the diſtinction of eating at his table. His Majeſty, would not publiſh the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain; but he ſecretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently deſired.

About this time another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which France could not avoid intereſting herſelf greatly, after what had paſſed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is neceſſary to repreſent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain, and Flanders, with which thoſe of England have in this reſpect an unavoidable connection.

The ſiege of Oſtend continued ſtill to be carried on with the ſame obſtinacy by the Spaniards: in the

the mean time, the Prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the Isle of Cadsan, which he made himself master of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, designing to open himself a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid siege to Sluys. From Bruges the King received advices, that the Archduke, who beheld this attempt with grief, was gone to assemble fifteen or sixteeen thousand men, with whom he hoped to succour this place, by storming Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had so well entrenched himself there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a sufficient number of men to guard his entrenchments: the Flemish general took likewise the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he should be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the siege he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys surrendered on the 10th of August.

The Spaniards, animated by the vigorous resistance of their enemies, and a sense of the prodigious losses they had suffered before Ostend, thought their honour still more concerned after this success of the Prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterprise which lasted so long. De Vic informed his Majesty by D'Auval, who was returned from England, that he had caused three mines to be blown up before Ostend, but without success; however, it is certain, that Ostend was reduced to the last extremity; the Spaniards boasted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they should still have time to go and deliver Sluys, with all their forces re-united. No one gave credit to this boast, especially when Persi le riche, captain of the regiment of Nerestan, who came lately from that place, said positively at Paris, that it would still hold out six weeks or two months. In effect

Sluys

Sluys ſurrendered before Oſtend; for the Flemiſh defended themſelves with a courage that has few examples: they were ſeconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made up between a thouſand and twelve hundred men, all freſh, which had been juſt ſent them by the ſtates, under the conduct of General Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a neceſſity of capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there; and they found means, preſſed as they were, to throw in ammunition and money.

This was a new and ſurpriſing ſpectacle for all Europe, that a little ſtate, which forms but a ſcarce perceptible point in the map, ſhould dare to raiſe her head from the midſt of her marſhes, and brave, during ſo long, a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is wonderful to think where they found forces, or funds to pay them, for it was computed, that this war coſt the ſtates twenty thouſand florins a day; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known; they hardly any longer knew to whom they ſhould have recourſe, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The Duke of Bouillon having promiſed them a ſum of money, they ſent Captain Sarroques to receive it; but he came back without any thing, but the regret of having put his maſters to the expence of four or five thouſand florins, which their compliments to the Princeſs of Orange coſt them.

Henry was their uſual reſource: ſometimes they requeſted an hundred thouſand crowns; at other times, two hundred thouſand weight of powder, for they conſumed great quantities of it: there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his Majeſty ordered to reſide in thoſe cantons, to give him an account of all that paſſed, was of great uſe to them, in ſupporting their ſolicitations with the King,

King, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend, when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expreſſed great fondneſs for Buzenval, and kept him with them as it were by force when he was recalled home. And who indeed was there whom they did not ſooth, and endeavour to engage in their intereſts? They would have made me a very conſiderable preſent, but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their deſign, aſſured them I would not accept of it: and they contented themſelves with offering me, by Aérſens, ſome curious pieces of ſhell work, and ſome coach-horſes of their country for my wife. Henry ſhewed a readineſs to oblige them, which could not proceed from ſelf-intereſted motives, and which with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They muſt be ungrateful in the higheſt degree, if they ever abandon a crown to which they owe ſuch great obligations *. Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requeſts in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not reſolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raiſed in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out againſt him.

It is eaſy to judge what the preſent war muſt have coſt Spain, which was in effect the aſſailant, by what I have juſt related of the United Provinces, who kept themſelves merely upon the defenſive, and did not ſtir from their own doors; and of the reſentment that Spain preſerved againſt us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the loſſes they ſuſtained by a war that had almoſt drained their treaſury, which, however, they concealed with the ut-

* Grotius ſpeaks of it almoſt in the ſame words, in his book, intitled, "The annals and hiſtory of the troubles in the Nether-"lands."

moſt care, often threatened never to forgive the treatment they required from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of theſe threats, and he acted wiſely; the council by this impotent anger, ſhewed its own weakneſs; and it was well known in France, that his Catholic Majeſty's revenues were exhauſted.

Oſtend * was taken at length on the 22d of September, and Henry had the conſolation, to ſee, that, for five or ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which this expedition had coſt him every year ſince it firſt began, he had conſiderably advanced the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

It might reaſonably be expected, that the treaty I had negotiated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things Spain was convinced that ſhe ſhould loſe Flanders entirely, if ſhe did not find means to make ſome change in thoſe diſpoſitions in which I had left the King of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, ſhe renewed her intrigues and ſolicitations to obtain at leaſt a neutrality in what concerned the United Provinces, if ſhe could not bring his Britannic Majeſty over to her party The Spaniards, at firſt, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers alſo were as high to procure a grant of part of thoſe demands. Their firſt propoſals were rejected without being examined; but theſe were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they ſhould prevail upon the Engliſh to abandon the Dutch, knowing they had nothing ſo much at heart; this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual. becauſe Spain, foreſeeing that there would be ſtill a neceſſity of abating

* See the ſurrender of Oſtend and Sluys, and the other actions of this campaign, in De-Thou, the Septen. Matthieu, Siri, and other hiſtorians, an. 1604.

fomething in her demands, added a condition that deſtroyed its force, and required, that England ſhould enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with her. The King of England's council having many ſtrong reaſons for rejecting this alliance, made no ſcruple to confeſs, that it was the intereſt of their crown to ſupport Holland, inſtead of openly taking part with her enemies.

It was now abſolutely believed, that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England: Beaumont was the only one who was of a contrary opinion, and foretold, that notwithſtanding all theſe apparent obſtacles they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards, ſome time afterwards, returned to the charge, ſtill leſſening their demands according to their ſubtile maxims of policy, and commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides; the diſputes ran ſo high that they were many times upon the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a negotiation more peaceable; the Engliſh commiſſioners reduced the Spaniſh ones not only to expreſs no reſentment againſt France, but they were the firſt to ſay, that ſhe ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them; and even treated the States with reſpect and conſideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic Majeſty whatever was contrary in the real deſign of this negotiation to the firſt, and to remove all his ſcruples

To this battery they joined the aſſiſtance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove, that peace was equally advantageous for the three kings. In one of theſe papers, which was ſuppoſed to be written by an Engliſhman, becauſe the power of the King of England was greatly exaggerated, who, ſays the author, can

ſubſiſt

ſubſiſt independent of any other ſtate, though none without him: as if the Spaniards were not capable of ſo high a flight of flattery to ſecure the ſucceſs of their deſigns: in one of theſe papers, I ſay, it was maliciouſly inſinuated, that this peace was deſired with equal ardour by the three kings; but that their Moſt Chriſtan and Britannic Majeſties ſecretly wiſhed, at the ſame time, that it would give them a claim to the poſſeſſion of Flanders.

However, they could come to no agreement, during the ſpace of a year; and it was not till the 21ſt of June this year that the negotiation was likely to ſucceed; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was ſo far advanced, that no one in England doubted of its being concluded, as ſoon as the Conſtable of Caſtile arrived, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambaſſador extraordinary from his Catholic Majeſty, and furniſhed with full powers to conclude the peace: the ſame opinion prevailed in Paris, and it was even believed there, that not only England but the United Provinces, had ſecretly made conditions of agreement with Spain; and that the States, by the interpoſition and arbitration of his Britannic Majeſty, had put an end to the diſputes on occaſion of the cautionary towns, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying thirty per cent. and others. But why, if this was ſo, did we not ſee the ſiege raiſed, and other hoſtilities ceaſe on both ſides.

This report, however, was abſolutely falſe, at leaſt with regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration. The States perceived but too ſoon, and even while the conferences were ſubſiſting that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic Majeſty. This Prince became weary at length of ſtruggling ſo long with his inclinations; he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had

lately given the name of Great Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a ſolemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders to reconcile the church party and the Puritans; for his pacific notions extended to all things: he did not reflect, that by this conduct he was going to exclude from the benefit of a peace thoſe very perſons that had moſt need of it, who were the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The Engliſh already began to abuſe every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports; and when the Dutch alledged, as uſual, that the Engliſh ought not to concern themſelves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coaſts, they replied, that they had permiſſion to do it from the King of Spain their ſovereign. Nothing ſo irritated the Dutch as ſpeeches of that nature; and if the inhabitants of Fluſhing had been ſuffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the Engliſh they had amongſt them: but the fatal conſequences of ſuch a proceeding being repreſented to them, they reſtrained their rage.

The States had expected a quite different treatment, when, at the beginning of the conferences between the commiſſioners, his Britannic Majeſty inſiſted that they ſhould be admitted, and their agent, the Sieur Le-Caron, heard there. Le-Caron acknowledged, that at firſt he had good reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Engliſh commiſſioners: upon the Spaniards introducing the ſubject of the Dutch cautionary towns, which they paſſionately deſired ſhould be put into their hands, the Engliſh told them, that they could do no otherwiſe than ſurrender theſe towns to the council of the United-Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid: and when the Spaniards retorted, with ſome reſentment, that the reſtitution of them ought to be made to thoſe who had given them as hoſtages, the Engliſh counſellors only anſwered, that if the States

States refuſed to pay the money that was lent, they would make the ſame propoſal to the Spaniards. They were likewiſe favourable enough to the Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held them a long time in diſpute; the Spaniards inſiſted, that Holland ſhould open to them the trade of the Flemiſh coaſt, and particularly that of Antwerp, which ſhe had, as it were, locked up, by building ſeveral forts upon the Scheld, and among others that of Iſſot; but the Engliſh ſoon cooled in theſe favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whoſe letters furniſhed me with great part of what I have related concerning theſe conferences, judged thus of the event, that the Engliſh knew well what would be the conſequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced; but that great jealouſy of us, and a little folly, had ſuggeſted all that had been done on this occaſion.

Matters were in this ſtate, when the King of England thought proper to inform his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by his ambaſſador at the court of France, of his intention to conclude a treaty with Spain, the Engliſh ambaſſador preſenting the memorial to the King at the ſame time. His Britannic Majeſty, in this memorial perſiſted ſtill in the ſtrange opinion, that this treaty was not inconſiſtent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to perſuade Beaumont to believe the ſame, and promiſed Henry that he would defer the concluſion of it till the diſputes which then ſubſiſted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade were terminated. The commiſſioners, however, did not ſcruple to ſign the * treaty between Spain and England, and referred Beau-

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace: the Kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the ſtates and Princes of Chriſtendom, who are all named, except the United Provinces alone: it is ſet out at large in the Septen. an. 1604. Matthieu, 605. &c.

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mont to the arrival of the Conſtable of Caſtile, to ſettle the affair of the trade between this nation and Spain. The Conſtable was applied to when he paſſed through Paris in his way to London; but he prevented, by obſtacles which he raiſed on purpoſe, the concluding upon any thing with Cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to intereſt himſelf in the affair. But what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, theſe commiſſioners, without giving Beaumont any ſatisfaction on that head, had the aſſurance to demand the impoſt on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who knew it was his Majeſty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of the thirty *per cent.* was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the propoſal, by making one of the ſame nature to them.

The Conſtable of Caſtile paſſed through France again the latter end of September, in his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris juſt as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewiſe. He demanded permiſſion, the next day, to pay his reſpects to the King, to whom he preſented himſelf with an air and countenance full of ſatisfaction; he made him a ſtudied compliment, which for that reaſon was perhaps the leſs ſincere; taking for his ſubject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to perſuade this prince, that France and Spain being the two moſt powerful monarchies of Chriſtendom, a ſtrict union between them was the neceſſary and infallible means of accompliſhing every enterpriſe they ſhould undertake in concert; he laid great ſtreſs upon the alliance which had at all times been between France and Caſtile; he dwelt upon the advantages of this aſſociation, which would give the ſame friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indiſſoluble; which was, he ſaid, to be wholly free from all partiality; to diveſt themſelves of all jealouſy

louſy of authority, and pre-eminence; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretenſions upon certain cantons and cities of Europe; he did not forget to inſinuate to his Majeſty, that the Proteſtans were enemies which policy required ſhould be humbled: he concluded his ſpeech with repreſenting to the King, the advantages that a double marriage between the children of the two kings muſt neceſſarily produce; a marriage which ſeemed (he ſaid) by the circumſtances of the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully aſſured the King, that he had no authority from his maſter for what he had ſaid on this ſubject, but entreated him to acquaint him with his ſentiments on it; becauſe, though they were only overtures made by himſelf, yet if they had the good fortune to be approved by his Majeſty, he ſhould with the greater confidence propoſe them afterwards to the King his maſter.

I was not preſent at this diſcourſe, but the King came to the arſenal on purpoſe to give me an account of it. He ſtopped, after relating the Spaniard's propoſals, telling me he deſired to know what anſwer I ſhould have made to them, before he repeated that which he had given himſelf. I replied, with the ſame gaiety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer ſatisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to conſider of it, and prevent him from accuſing me of precipitation, as he often did when my opinion had not the good fortune to pleaſe him. His Majeſty conſented to it, ſmiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his cuſtom when he was in good humour.

I went the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myſelf of my promiſe, and found the King walking upon the terras of the capuchins; I told him, that if he ſtill remembered a ſentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting

diverting enough, "that they preferred works * "to faith," he would not be long at a loſs to know what anſwer I would have made to their ambaſſador; that after ſo many breaches of faith, ſo many perjuries and violations of truth, with which Spain had diſhonoured herſelf in the ſight of all Europe, the Conſtable of Caſtile's diſcourſe would have ſeemed to me to be a new ſtratagem of the King of Spain, to break off the alliance between his Majeſty and the United Provinces, and the other Proteſtant powers his friends, that he might find a ſtill more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of ſo atrocious a nature that no palliation of it ought even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, but for England, Holland, the French and foreign Proteſtants, but for his incredible labours and inceſſant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the ſtile of a maſter: that the council of Madrid, accuſtomed to profane all that is moſt ſacred in religion, abuſed the name of marriage, which had nothing binding enough in it to reſtrain their lawleſs attempts. And here I made an obſervation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it.

It was not, I told him, a ſtroke of ſuch wiſe policy as was generally believed, to marry the ſons of France into families almoſt equal to their own, ſuch as that of Spain †; for beſides that there was no alliance, however cloſe, but muſt yield to the hatred which ambition inſpires againſt a rival, the advantage that was expected from theſe unions might be deſtroyed by the very cauſe which made it too

* In alluſion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is cenſured by the Catholic church.

† By this ſtroke of politics, France nevertheleſs gained the crown of Spain to the houſe of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

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conſiderable: but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families; from them, at leaſt, we might promiſe ourſelves all the aſſiſtance they are in a condition to give: the honour of an alliance with the moſt illuſtrious houſe in the world is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the ſupport of its grandeur, and the increaſe of its glory. Spain *, by this practice, has found the ſecret of conſiderably augmenting her power, by means leſs rapid indeed, but alſo leſs hazardous than war.

I take this occaſion to obſerve, that I am not of the common opinion with reſpect to the Salic law; that law ſo much talked of, which is no where to be found in writing, but whoſe original is ſufficiently demonſtrated by the name it bears: as its antiquity is proved by the uncertainty even of this origin †. It has been generally conſidered as

* "The houſe of Auſtria," ſaid Guy-Patin, "has gained great "inheritances, *per lanceam carnis*; that is, by alliances and marriages."

† As to the Salic law, the Abbé du Bos ſpeaks of it as follows, in his critical hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy in Gaul, vol. III. b. vii. p. 290. 291. "It probably obtained its name, "from its being already in force amongſt the Salian Francs, when "Clovis incorporated into their tribe all the tribes which acknow-"ledged him as king in the year 510, except the tribe of the Ri-"puarii. The moſt ancient digeſt we at preſent have of this law, is "what was made by the order of King Clovis, and afterwards cor-"rected by the orders of Childebert and Clotarius his children.—In "the year 798, Charlemaine made a new digeſt of it, in which he "added many new ordinances to it, &c." This writer farther aſſerts, ibid. 273. That the clauſes which enacts, "That the crown "of France ſhall not deſcend from the lance to the diſtaff," is really contained in the 62d article of the Salic laws.

But another opinion has been maintained, and ſeems to be ſupported by reaſons of ſtill greater force, in oppoſition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgement and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne), in his excellent memoirs on this ſubject, inſerted in the collection of the memoirs of the Royal Academy of inſcriptions and belles lettres, ann. 1727, p. 490. & ſeq. it is thereby proved, that there is no one article in all the Salic code which excludes daughters from the ſucceſſion to the crown; and that the 6th paragraph of the 62d title of this code, where it is ſaid, "That males alone can enjoy the

as the ſureſt foundation of the kingdom, and of the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this ſubject, that the ſituation of France, and the other advantages ſhe has received from nature, are of themſelves ſufficient cauſes for the pre-eminence ſhe has over all the other ſtates of Europe; and that the Salic law, ſo far from contributing to theſe advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by thoſe which a well-directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heireſs of France, ſhould become our king, the firſt kings of this race would be conſidered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or Engliſh; but as there is not the leaſt reaſon to fear, that he would transfer the ſeat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would chuſe to reſide in, this firſt foreign prince, or king, would be ſoon a naturalized

"Salic lands, and that females can have no ſhare in the inheritance," ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private perſons; but that, beſides this, there was a cuſtom, exiſting from time immemorial, even amongſt the Germans, that daughters could not ſucceed to the crown; that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c. — M. Foncemagne had before demonſtrated, in another memoir, (ibid. anno 1726. p. 464. & ſeq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary but in the male line only, during the firſt race of our Kings.

The ſentiments of theſe two writers, though oppoſite in themſelves, become united againſt the principle laid down in this part of theſe memoirs, which conveys to us an idea in every reſpect inſupportable. Beſides its direct tendency to deſtroy the pre eminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in almoſt a perpetual ſeries of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occaſion in the choice of a ſucceſſor to the crown; it would create a confuſion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always obſerve a proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware: I cannot therefore believe, but the whole is an imaginary ſcheme of the compilers, ſince none of the Duke of Sully's maxims are diſcoverable in it. On the actual exiſtence of the Salic law, conſult Venderlin, Eccard Baluze, &c. cited by the two academicians above named.

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Frenchman; and his posterity, from the first generation, would be wholly French. The house of Austria, established in Spain, and that of Stuart, placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. This first foreign prince, or king, would likewise unite to our crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salic law, by forbidding (if I may use the expression) the kingdom of France from falling to the distaff, has deprived it of one way of aggrandizing itself; and a way so much the less to be despised, as force having no share in it, it affords no occasion nor pretence for war.

Henry was much displeased with the answer I would have given to the Spanish Constable; he assured me, that his sentiments were the same with mine, but that he had concealed them under fair words, that he might not give the Castilian any suspicion of his designs *.

These designs might indeed suffer some prejudice from what passed at London between England and Spain, yet it did not take away a pro-

* John De-Serre, speaking of the reception Henry IV. gave the Constable, says: "The King sent the Duke of Montbazon, with a "most honourable train of noblemen, to receive him at the gate of "Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the Constable, the King came unawares, just as they were giving water to the Constable to wash, saying, "I am come to sup with you." The Constable being surprised, was going to put one knee to the ground, and present a napkin to him; but the King raised him up and said, "It is not "your business to do the honour of this house, but to receive them, "you are of the blood-royal:" and truly, the King is related to the house of Valesques, holding the office of constable by hereditary right, and which is conferred by the Kings of Spain on those they think proper to elevate to the next degree below themselves.

This ambassador had already had the honour of paying his respects to the King, two years before, when he was going to Flanders. "He "continued on his knees," says Matthieu, "something longer than "he expected, and thereupon said, the King received him like a "King, and caressed him as a relation." Vol. 2. b. 5. p. 605. Siri, 317.

bability of carrying them into execution; things were not yet so far advanced as to attempt that immediately: in political affairs, time brings every thing about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In Cardinal Bufalo I found all that I had been so long seeking for on the part of Rome; nor did I scruple to acquaint him with what might possibly happen hereafter, being persuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allotted for his Holiness's share, was a bribe sufficient to secure his secrecy, and even to make him solicitous for the success of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician. Spain, by seizing, as he had lately done, upon the fortresses of Porto-hercole, Orbitello, Talamone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the Pope's eyes; and indeed, if the Romans had not considered these frequent innovations as the forerunners of their approaching slavery, they must have been wholly void of reflection. That Clement VIII. was of this opinion, is sufficiently clear from the steps that he was observed to take; he was just such a Pope as Henry had occasion for, and this prince studied to oblige him on every occasion: he gave him a convincing proof of this disposition, by sending the Prince of Condé to his court to be brought up, and instructed in the Roman Catholic religion.

The Princes of Germany had equally favourable impressions of Henry. His Majesty commanded me to treat the Duke of Wirtemberg's ambassador with great respect, that he might make a friend of his master; and though he had some reason to be dissatisfied with the Elector Palatine, on account of the Duke of Bouillon, yet he paid, without making any cavilling, certain sums that still remained due to this elector, for which his ministers solicited, Henry only requiring, that he should recal his son from Sedan. With respect to the United

ted Provinces, tho' they were abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms againſt them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the aſſiſtance they had received from the Engliſh having been very inconſiderable. After the loſs of Oſtend and Sluys, the States took a little repoſe; but it was wearineſs, and their exhauſted condition, that made them ſubmit to this reſpite, which was to continue but a ſhort time. Thus the means of diverſion was ſecured, to be uſed whenever France ſhould make attempts upon Spain.

I have ſlighty touched upon a difference beween Spain and the Griſons *, which made noiſe enough this year, to give occaſion for many hiſtorical memoirs that were compoſed on this ſubject. This difference I am now going to explain.

The Swiſs Cantons have, for neighbours and allies, the three leagues of the Griſons, the thirteen corporations of the Upper and Lower Valais, conſiſting of fifty four pariſhes, of which the Biſhop appointed by them is lord; Saint Gal, Geneva, Neuf-chatel, Baden, and other cities, imperial and not imperial, which ſubmitted to the Swiſs, on condition that their privileges ſhould be preſerved: theſe cities are comprehended in nine bailliwics.

The Griſons, of whom we ſpeak at preſent, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Valteline, which is a valley, or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and thoſe on the other ſide of it: for though its length be thirty leagues, or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad, where its breadth is greateſt, from the Tirol to the lake of Coma. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and be-

* See Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 3. and other hiſtorians, particularly Vittorio Siri, who treats this point of hiſtory very fully. Mem. recond. vol. 1. p. 369. & ſeq.

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ing increaſed by the torrents it receives in its paſſage, is but little leſs than the Marne, when it diſcharges itſelf into the lake of Coma; it contains about a hundred thouſand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit-trees, and paſturage: it is bounded on the eaſt by the earldom of Tirol, to which it is contiguous, but the paſſages are both narrow and difficult; on the ſouth by Breſſe and Bergamy, dependencies on the republic of Venice; the chain of mountains which ſeparates it from thoſe two cities, are ſo ſteep, and the ground ſo hard, that it is wholly inacceſſible on that ſide, except by two paſſages, from Tiron into Breſſan, and from Morben into Bergamaſque; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Griſons, bounds it on the north. The diſpoſition of this place is ſuch, that there are no paſſages to enter Italy from theſe countries which lie to the north of it, but thoſe that lead into this valley, which at the weſt ends in a plain in the dutchy of Milan, in which runs the lake of Coma, between the Milaneze and the Valteline. This is the place we are about to ſpeak of.

About ſix hundred paces from the lake of Coma, Spain had lately built a fort called the fort of Fuentes, from the name of him who was appointed to command it, upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which ſeparates the Milaneſe from the Valteline, and which is already but too difficult to paſs from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the ſhore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, another fort was built over againſt the firſt, but not near ſo large; and to cloſe up this paſſage completely, deep trenches were dug in the ſpace between the bottom of thoſe mountains and the lake. The fortifications of theſe two caſtles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to ſuit the

the form of the rock; which has this farther advantage, that no cannon from any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it.

It was not likely that the Griſons would not take umbrage at ſuch an enterpriſe; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of theſe people in building this new work, and to ſhew that they had no deſign upon any part that did not belong to them, cauſed ſome trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up, yet it was but too apparent, that their view was to endeavour one day to join the States of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valteline; and till then, to put any obſtacle in this place to the paſſage of thoſe beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiſs and Griſons, and the French their allies, with the republic of Venice; in a word, to reduce the Griſons to capitulate with them, and acknowledge them for their maſters.

Spain had aleady given the Griſons ſome proofs of this laſt deſign. The Proteſtant Party had hitherto been moſt powerful in the three leagues, being eſtabliſhed in the moſt conſiderable canton, and embraced by perſons of the greateſt riches and diſtinction among them; theſe were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain: but the differences of religion had as yet given riſe to no miſunderſtanding among theſe people, becauſe they were ſenſible their ſtrength conſiſted in being firmly united: the Spaniards, however, found means to break this union, by ſending their uſual emiſſaries, the Jeſuits and Capuchins, into theſe cantons. Theſe fathers, by perſuaſions, promiſes, and bribes, eaſily ſucceeded in their deſign of ſetting the two parties at variance with each other; and gave the Catholics as great a diſguſt to the form of government eſtabliſhed by their countrymen, as averſion to the religion they profeſſed.

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Their hatred began firſt to ſhew itſelf in the reſult of the debates in the aſſembly of Catholics, which was held at Baden, and which for the firſt time was directly contrary to that of the Proteſtants, who held a ſeparate one at Arau at the ſame time. Some demanded, that thoſe perſons who had embezzled the money of the public ſhould be proſecuted, and arrets iſſued againſt them; others openly ſupported thoſe perſons: but the Catholic party becoming at length the ſtrongeſt, they proceeded to ſuch extremities with the Proteſtants, as to baniſh them entirely into ſome little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This is a thing which France hardly thought of; but ſhe could not be indifferent to what paſſed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal intereſt in theſe people. The Sieur Paſchal had been long our ambaſſador to them; and the Griſons appeared ſo well ſatisfied with him, that they deſired they might have juſt ſuch another; and as while theſe good intentions continued, they had alſo requeſted, that the ambaſſador might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we ſent De Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who reſided at Venice in the ſame quality, to act always in concert with each other.

The beſt and ſhorteſt method we could have taken, was to ſupport the leagues, in hindering by force the building of the fort of Fuentes, or at leaſt to furniſh them with the means of building one on their ſide, which would have rendered it uſeleſs. They had thought of this themſelves; and it would not have been a new thing, if his Majeſty had given ſome money to theſe people: but indeed the Griſons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their intereſts; they were ſo far from expreſſing any gratitude to his Majeſty for the penſions he diſtributed amongſt them, that they made no other re-

turn but complaints of their being injudiciously bestowed, and that this distribution was not referred to their ministers.

The Venetians were alike discontented with them, upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to De-Vic: and it was highly probable that the Swiss would serve them no more with their accustomed good-will. The latter had allowed themselves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambassador had met at Milan; and no one, on the other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, Vri, and Underwalt, would renew their alliance with the Milanese.

In opposition to all this, the liberty of the Grisons appeared a sort of point, to every interested party, which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their design of hood winking the eyes of the Helvetic senate, though they supposed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, It was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12. that these great efforts were to make their appearance; and each respective party, who expected the clearing of the whole affair in question, took care to depute a representative worthy to be trusted. Alphonso Cazal came thither in the behalf of Count Fuentes: I, by the means of Mont martin, sent letters from his Majesty to De-Vic, which, however, never happened to be produced in public, because Canaye declared that the State of Venice, with regard to the Grisons, held sentiments very different from those of the King; and it was a principle inculcated into all our ambassadors, to unite consistently in the same demands. The French and Venetian ambassadors contented themselves with carrying on their point behind the scene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their seeming inactivity gave great hopes to Count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonso Cazal, in conjunction

with him, could not ſupport his party from miſcarrying. The reſult of the diet was, that the * leagues would bear no mention of a treaty with Spain, except the fortreſs of Fuentes was previouſly razed, except communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their antient ſituation. The alliance with France received at the ſame diet a new confirmation; nevertheleſs, a great diſtance of ſpace and time was required to paſs from ſuch reſolutions to actual effects; and the Spaniards had many ſubterfuges to recur to by the way of amuſing the Griſons. Mont-martin returned not thence, till he had maturely conſidered every point that adminiſtred matter in theſe debates, taking a draught at the ſame time, by my order, both of the fortreſs and the diſtrict round it. I have formed this article upon his repreſentation and memoirs.

A diſpute of the ſame nature with this, but in which his Majeſty was immediately concerned, aroſe this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay for want of ſome repairs which had a long time been neceſſary. This delay was occaſioned by the particular ſituation of affairs in France, which left no time for the diſcuſſion of a queſtion between the King of France and the Pope, without which theſe repairs could not be undertaken. The queſtion was this; the Pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewiſe the proprietorſhip of this bridge, of the toll and paſſage of the Rhone, between Avignon and Villeneuve, and conſequently of all the privileges annexed to theſe paſſes †;

* When two or more cantons united in one common cauſe, it is called a league.

† Cardinal d'Oſſat ſpeaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the Pope, in his letter to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of June 1603.

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therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided to which of the two, his Majesty or the Pope, it belonged to do it. The King being desirous that this question should be decided once for all, and falling entirely under my cognizance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public.

The law received in France has, at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and course of the Rhone to its borderers, though sovereign princes; for of this rank some of them have been, as the Prince Dauphin, the Duke of Savoy, the Count of Provence, and the Prince of Orange. The question was reduced to this point, namely, Whether the Pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule, by any particular concession.

To decide this point, I caused the archives of the monarchy, the ancient rights of inheritance, the registers of the seneschal jurisdiction of Nimes, and all the chartres of the province, to be consulted. I sent commissioners of probity and understanding to the place; and the result of these laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers, have no relation to the King of France, and also that he enjoyed a double right with respect to the Rhone, possessing solely as sovereign its bed, the old and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc has this claim most incontestibly established, being an ancient fief of the crown, which has never been separated from it, and the Counts of Toulouse have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiné and Provence, which are acquisitions to the crown: but neither this reason, nor another equally strong, the possibility that the provinces and Dauphiné and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion, could hin-

der them from being comprehended in the same law with the Rhone, by the right of regale, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts which were issued in the mean time in their favour, against the borderers of the Rhone, confirmed this right; and the treaty which was after the last war concluded with the Duke of Savoy, established it upon a solid foundation. The doubt concerning the Pope's interest in Avignon arose from this:

A fund of four thousand livres was formerly set aside by the Kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquished to an order of monks, who make a vow to assist all poor travellers, and called themselves the brothers which served the hospital at the bridge of Avignon, because that hospital joins to the bridge: they were likewise invested with the rights which were to come to the King, on their binding themselves to keep the bridge always in repair. These rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time these revenues and rights, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length this first fund was dissipated and lost, no one knew how; during which time the officers of his Holiness made several different attempts to get possession of the bridge and its rights; and the best way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expence of the necessary repairs: they several times attempted to begin the work: but although his Majesty's council did not act with all the spirit they ought to have done upon this step of usurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all these proofs, his Majesty's claim was ascertained.

I caused a definitive arret to be issued, which decided this difference. By this arret, the Rhone and its isles, its ports, tolls, rights, and dependencies, par-

particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong ſolely to the King, by the regal rights of the demeſne, and the patrimony of the crown. In conſequence of this arret, his Majeſty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and meaſures to be taken to recover the firſt funds, that had been miſapplied and loſt: and thus was this affair ended, in which the Duke of Savoy was almoſt as much concerned as the Pope.

His Majeſty alſo made an acquiſition of the earldom of Saint-Paul, one of the appanages of the Count of Soiſſons. This Prince being plunged in debts, determined to ſell this earldom to ſatisfy his creditors, who were very preſſing for payment: he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a ſon, which his wife had lately brought, he ought not to live any longer in a diſſipation of his fortunes: he received, with his uſual affectation of gravity and ſtoiciſm, the compliments his Majeſty ſent him upon the birth of his ſon; and afterwards ſent Guillouaire to the King, with the offer of his earldom of Saint Paul. Henry, in this acquiſition, firſt conſidered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it paſſed into the hands of any foreign prince; he therefore heard the Count's propoſal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a conſiderable ſum of money, to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

His Majeſty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the Count of Soiſſons, and deſired him to apply to Caumartin and me, to whom he intended to entruſt the management of this purchaſe; and wrote to me alſo, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and uſed my utmoſt endeavours to ſerve the Count of Soiſſons; but I found it neceſſary to give great attention to the form in which the purchaſe was to be made. The affair being protracted to ſome length, I ſet

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out on my journey to Poitou: Henry, in the mean time, liſtening only to his impatience, and being perſuaded that there was no danger to be hazarded in bringing the affair to a ſpeedy concluſion, referred it to Meſſieurs de Believre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maiſſe, who ſettled all matters with the Count of Soiſſons by a bargain of exchange. At my return the King acquainted me with what was done; and ſeeing me greatly aſtoniſhed at his precipitation, inquired the cauſe, reproaching me at the ſame time with the little inclination I diſcovered for making ſo fine an acquiſition to the crown, which had, from my anceſtors, fallen into the poſſeſſion of the Count of Soiſſons: It was for this very reaſon that I knew more of the matter than any other perſon, and I excuſed myſelf in the following manner to his Majeſty.

From the time that this earldom had been poſſeſſed by the counts of its name, it had been the ſubject of many debates, whether it ſhould be held of the county of Boulogne, or the county of Artois; that is to ſay, of France or Spain. This diſpute being of the number of thoſe which it is not eaſy to decide, it was agreed to in the laſt treaties made by Francis I. and Henry II. with the kings of Spain, that till the queſtion could be decided, the lords of Saint Paul ſhould be at liberty to hold it of either of thoſe counties which they ſhould prefer. The ſucceeding Counts of Saint Paul choſe to do homage for it to the county of Artois; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furniſh a ſufficient pretence for rekindling the war, as ſoon as the King of France, the poſſeſſor of this fief, ſhould declare, that he would hold it for the future of the Count of Boulogne, who was himſelf, for he could not without a kind of diſhonour do otherwiſe. It would have been a melancholy thing, to ſee the war rekindled for a trifle of this nature; and ſhameful to avoid it by ſubmitting to do homage

mage to a crown which owed it to France. The King was convinced by my arguments; and the remedy was, to break the firſt contract, and ſign a ſecond in the name of a third perſon, and his Majeſty was not to declare himſelf till he could do it without any injury to his dignity.

This affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the King made a long ſtay this year. He ſent for the Dauphin and the reſt of the children from Saint Germain. It was his firſt deſign, that the Dauphin ſhould not paſs through Paris in this journey; but he altered it upon ſome repreſentations which I made him. The children of France, with Madam de Montglat their governeſs, paſſed through Paris in their way to Saint-Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

One of his Majeſty's natural ſons, who was called Alexander, and had the title of Monſieur, was received into the order of Malta, in compliance with the King's inclinations *. He gave orders, during his ſtay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expences of this year were not leſſened but increaſed, by the addition of thoſe ſums laid out on the buildings deſtined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in ſilence, but with deep regret. I remember only, that ſeeing at the ſame time a great number of religious orders † eſtabliſhed in France by the Pope's commiſſion,

* This ceremony was performed in the Church of the Temple in the preſence of the legate and ambaſſadors. The young Prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV. haſtily deſcended from his throne and made them for him to the Grand Prior, promiſing that the Prince ſhould ratify them when he ſhould be ſixteen years of age. De Thou, book cxxxii.

† Politicians have always made a great outcry againſt the too great increaſe of religious orders, and the exceſſive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our miniſters of the greateſt abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of theſe reaſons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics: ſince, if it be true that monks

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commiſſion, I quoted to his Majeſty the examples of Charlemaigne for the firſt, and the Romans for for the ſecond.

Mahomet III. dying of the plague, Achmet his ſon, who ſucceeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appeaſe the murmurs of the people againſt the bad government, by baniſhing his grandmother, who was the cauſe of it. Sinan Baſha, the counſellor of this princeſs, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but inſtead of obeying this order, he fled. Perſia, being then at war with this crown, took advantage of theſe diſorders to ſeize certain towns. The Sieur de Salignac was then our ambaſſador at the Porte.

BOOK XX.

THE proceſs which was carried on in parliament, againſt the Counts of Auvergne and Entragues, and the Marchioneſs of Verneuil, terminated in an arret iſſued the beginning of this year, by which the two Counts were condemned to loſe their heads, and the Marchioneſs to be ſhut

are uſeleſs to the ſtate, it is equally inconteſtible, that religion would ſuffer by their ſuppreſſion. "The man muſt therfore be either wicked or blind," ſays Cardinal de Richelieu, whoſe evidence on this ſubject is leſs liable to ſuſpicion than M. de Sully's, "who does "not ſee and acknowledge, that the religious orders are not only "uſeful but even neceſſary; as, on the other hand, nothing but too "indiſcreet a zeal can prevent one from perceiving, that an exceſs of "them is not only inconvenient, but may be even increaſed to ſuch "a degree as to become deſtructive. What is done for the ſervice of "the ſtate is done for the ſervice of God, who is the baſis and foun-"dation of it: to reform the religious houſes already eſtabliſhed, and "to ſtop the too great increaſe of new foundations, are two things "pleaſing to God, who deſires regularity and order in all things." Political Teſtament, part I. chap. ii. § 8.

up, during the reſt of her life, in a cloiſter. I received the firſt news of it from the King, who ſent for me to acquaint me with the ſentence; and, afterwards drawing me aſide to the balcony of the firſt gallery in the Louvre, aſked me what impreſſion I thought this treatment would make on the mind of his miſtreſs? I aſked his Majeſty, in my turn, whether, in propoſing this queſtion, he wiſhed that I ſhould tell him my ſentiments freely? "Yes, yes," replied Henry, "do not be appre-"henſive that I ſhall be offended; I have been "long accuſtomed to your freedoms." I then told him, that he himſelf could anſwer this queſtion better than any other perſon; for if he gave the Marchioneſs reaſon to believe that he was wholly cured of his paſſion, and animated with a juſt indignation againſt her, he would ſee her have recourſe to ſubmiſſion, to prayers and tears to move him; but if, on the contrary, he ſuffered her to ſuſpect that he had acted only under the impreſſion of a mere love-quarrel, ſhe would not recede from her former inſolence of behaviour.

I afterwards frankly confeſſed to Henry, that whichſoever of theſe two parts ſhould be taken by Madam de Verneuil, I was perſuaded the conſequence would be ſtill the ſame, for many reaſons, among which, his natural clemency and his conſideration for the children he had by his miſtreſs, did not ſeem to be the leaſt. "I would have you "viſit her," ſaid this prince to me; "I want to "know what ſhe will ſay to you, and if ſhe will "not employ you as an interceſſor for her to me." I entreated his Majeſty, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to diſpenſe with me both from the viſit and the interceſſion: I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect; and I was unwilling to loſe entirely the good opinion of the Queen, to whom, notwithſtanding I had always ſupported her intereſt againſt her rival, I had been

repreſented as an artful incendiary, and the venal ſpy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs, that ſuch inſinuations had been given the Queen more than a month ſince: I told the King ſo, and named three perſons to him who had been the authors of them, and repreſented to him, that there wanted only this ſtep which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of ſerving him with this princeſs, on occaſions which he was ſenſible recurred but too frequently. Henry conteſted this point with me a long while; but I prevailed at length, and left to another thoſe infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the ſtrongeſt diſlike; and if I ſtill took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the concluſion of it from being as ſhameful for Henry as I foreſaw it was likely to be.

The prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taſte; and here the groſs ſervility of a court was fully diſplayed. As ſoon as it was perceived that Henry could neither diſengage himſelf from his miſtreſs, nor rule the Queen, this crowd of voluntary ſlaves to the paſſions of the ſovereign accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this diſpoſition: no one dared to contradict either the Queen or the Marchioneſs, and only feigned to do ſo, when the nature of their commiſſion required it; they but half ſerved his anger, that they might always have their juſtification ready for both ſides. Sigogne had been ſent to me, by his Majeſty, with a very ſevere order concerning the Marchioneſs, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms: he did not ſcruple to ſuppreſs one half of it; and, what is indeed aſtoniſhing, Henry diſcovered that he did ſo, told me of it, and yet continued to make uſe of him. If this prince carried weakneſs to an extravagant length, his courtiers puſhed their flattery ſtill farther; it was never better known to what degree of ingenu-

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ity, and at the same time of servility, meanness, and wickedness, it could attain.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the Marchioness of Verneuil; but it was matter of general surprise, to find that the lenity shewn her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the same punishment which Marechal Biron had suffered: the Count d'Auvergne's sentence * was commuted into a perpetual imprisonment in the Bastile, where, for once, he had leisure to grow weary † of confinement; that of the lady's father into a banishment to his own estates: and as for her, she had a full pardon ‡, and even dictated the conditions herself.

The affair between the King and the Marchioness could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between this prince and the

* "The King changed this punishment," says Bassompierre, to "an imprisonment for life, partly in consideration of Madame d'Angoulême, who most earnestly begged it of him, but more for a reason he gives us, which is, that the late King Henry III. his predecessor, had on his death bed, recommended only the Count of "Auvergne, and M. le Grand to his favour; and he would therefore not have it said, that he put a man to death, who had been "so affectionately recommended to him, by the person from whom "he had received the kingdom." Vol. I. p. 165. But neither M. de Sully, nor Henry IV. himself, when conversing with his minister on this subject, makes the least mention of this motive.

† He came out of his prison in the next reign. He was seventy-one years of age, when, in 1644, he took for his second wife Mademoiselle de Nargonne; and as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in-law should die an hundred and forty years after her father-in-law.

‡ "The King," says Perefixe, "permitted the Marchioness to "retire to Verneuil, and seven months having passed without the attorney general's finding any evidences against her, by the King's "order, she was declared guiltless of the crime whereof she was accused." "He also," says the Mercure François, "dispensed with "her personal attendance on the parliament to get her letters of pardon registered, which were allowed by the parliament on the 6th "of September." See the particulars of this process in M. de Thou, an. 1605. Siri, ibid. p. 299. and other historians.

Queen, to whom this late inſtance of tenderneſs and conſideration in the King her huſband, for his faithleſs miſtreſs, afforded ſufficient matter for rage and exclamation: it was abſolutely neceſſary ſhe ſhould be appeaſed, and Henry was obliged to have recourſe to me on this occaſion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this; every moment there were new expreſſions to explain, new actions to juſtfy, new intereſts to conciliate; it was the buſineſs of the night, as well as the day, to compoſe theſe differences: no ſooner did a calm appear, than a ſtorm aroſe immediately after, which brought every thing back to its former ſtate. At my return from the Limoſin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappineſs at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before: what could be done, in an evil ſo irremediable, than to deplore it in ſilence? and this was the method I purſued. I collected all the letters the King had written to me upon this ſubject, and ſuffered none to remain in the hands of my ſecretaries, from whom I concealed, for the future, what the King imparted to me in confidence, whatever inſtances they might make me. One of theſe letters of moſt conſequence I ſnatched from a ſecretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little ſummer-houſe, where I ſent him to ſearch for ſome papers. I act upon the ſame plan at preſent with the public, to whom I do not communicate all theſe little quarrels, which they would find a needleſs repetition of diſputes, reproaches, jealouſies, and violent deſigns, of which the reader is, I believe, already ſufficiently weary.

From the diſpoſition the Count of Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very eaſy under his confinement in the Baſtile, nor D'Entragues reliſh the inactive life he was compelled to in ſpite of himſelf. It was diſcovered, ſix months afterwards, that the Count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the

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ſecret of getting intelligence even in priſon, the means of eſcaping from the Baſtile. It was a rope-maker who gave information of this deſign, and ſupported his evidence with ſo many proofs, that, upon his report, the Grand Prevot, ſearching the wood of Maleſherbes, found the cords, pullies, and other engines, with which the projected eſcape was to be effected; for which D'Entragues was afterwards arreſted, and obliged to go through an examination at his own houſe. He alledged, that he was not obliged to anſwer the Grand Prevot; there was a neceſſity therefore for forcing him to it by a ſpecial commiſſion, which his Majeſty ſent for that purpoſe, from the province where he then was.

In the mean time, D'Entragues compoſed a kind of caſe, written and ſigned by his own hand, to juſtify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the ſpecious manner in which he gloſſed over, his conduct, was well worthy of its author: yet, with all his ſubtilty of reaſoning, he could not clear himſelf of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Maleſherbes. He defended himſelf much worſe when, notwithſtanding this paper, he found himſelf obliged to go through an examination: he maintained, with great obſtinacy, that no bad intention could be proved againſt him, by the diſcovery of thoſe cords and pullies. The Grand Prevot omitted no part of his duty upon this occaſion; he took care to keep all the domeſtics of D'Entragues ſeparate, that they might have no opportunity to conſult either with their maſter, or with one another. But notwithſtanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet, through the whole procedure againſt the criminal, ſomething ſo favourable was perceived, that he had no great reaſon to be apprehenſive, although the

the rope-maker furnished all the proofs that were necessary to convict him, and heavily accused, among others, a man named Giez: yet they chose to believe the accused person, upon his bare word, that he was absolutely ignorant of every thing; and he was not so much as imprisoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but sent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the Bastile, to confine the Count of Auvergne more closely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

I proceed now to the conclusion of another affair, which was begun and almost finished during the preceding year: this was the entire restoration of the Jesuits. These fathers, whatever instances of kindness they received from the King, thought nothing was granted while the pillar *, raised upon the foundation of Chathel's house, still remained. His Majesty, persecuted with prayers and entreaties upon this article, consented, at last,

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, stood opposite to the palace, there being only the street betwixt them; over the pedestal, on each of its four sides, was a plate of black marble, having the arret of the parliament (before mentioned, in speaking of the process against John Chatel) engraven on them, with some inscriptions conceived in terms the most injurious to the Jesuits. We do not think it necessary to recite these inscriptions, which are preserved in the memoirs of the league, Vol. VI. D'Aubigné vol. III. b. iv. chap. 4. The royal MSS. vol. 6033. where the French translation of them made at that time may also be seen, as well as in divers other writings.

M. de Thou's works, and the Mercure François, which may also be consulted touching the demolition of this pyramid, *anno* 1605, agree with M. de Sully, that it become a kind of justice, to deface those inscriptions when the Jesuits were restored, the two arrets being contradictory to one another: but they also observe, that the destruction of it occasioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noon-day, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, sent for that purpose by the King, and a fountain was built in its place: "The order for it," says Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 683. "was "directed to M. de Sully, as surveyor-general. The most valuable "of the statues belonging to it were carried to the grottos of Saint-"Germain."

that

that it ſhould be referred to his council. I thought, and ſeveral others were of the ſame opinion, that the ſociety had no reaſon to complain of ill treatment, if the council came to no other reſolution about it, than to eraſe the inſcription upon this pillar, which was indeed too ſevere; but they knew ſo well how to gain over the greateſt part of thoſe who compoſed the council to their ſide, that they obtained an arret ſuch as they deſired.

I cannot admit, that my conduct, on this occaſion, could merit the whole weight of the Jeſuits indignation: however, my ruin appeared to theſe fathers, and to the three eſpecially who played the greateſt game at the court, to be of ſuch conſequence to religion, the common cauſe, and their own particular intereſts, that it was reſolved to effect it if poſſible. With the three Jeſuits, a like number of the principal lords of the court aſſociated themſelves, whom I ſhall name no more. All that was now neceſſary, was to recall to their minds the former notions of the league, of which the name indeed, but not the ſpirit nor the policy, was baniſhed the court: they found no difficulty to increaſe their party conſiderably, in a very ſhort time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whoſe ſoft and effeminate lives, it was owned, I had cenſured with more imprudence than injuſtice. The Jeſuits, by making themſelves uſeful for their aſſociates, drew great advantages from them; ſo that, in a little time, a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very conſiderable revenues.

They did not, however, ſucceed every where with equal facility: the people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres, did not receive the offers they made them of their ſervices very favourably. They were obliged therefore to have recourſe to letters from his Majeſty; the Fathers, Cotton and Gauthier,

thier, were employed to ask them of the King, in whom so many petitions, one after the other, sometimes occasioned a little reflection. He told them, that he was very willing to gratify all their desires, but that he feared they would, at last, endanger the royal authority: he brought Poitiers for an example, where notwithstanding the mandates they had obtained from him, yet they had laboured for two years ineffectually, to procure a settlement in that city, tho', at the same time, it had solicited, that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied, that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poitiers, which could affect the other cities, because they would not be so unfortunate as to be opposed by persons so powerful, so respected in the province, nor even so much favoured by his Majesty, as their enemies of Poiters were.

The King had not here any occasion for all that penetration on which he sometimes valued himself, which enabled him to discover, by the gestures only, and the turn of the countenance of those who spoke to him all that passed in their hearts *. He answered the Father, that he perfectly understood what he had else to say, but that it was a mere calumny, for which he had no other foundation, than some reports that had been made him; for that having spoke to me himself of this matter before, I was so far from discovering such intentions as were attributed to me, that I had assured him I would raise no obstacles to their attempts; and that I would give them my assistance. "Ah! Sire," replied the Father, "God keep me from offending "in any manner those you love, and by whom you "think yourself so faithfully served; I will love "them, and serve them myself: but if your Majesty

* Matthieu has observed the same thing of Henry IV. "He "could form a judgement," says he, "of a man's actions and "words, from his look and manner." Vol. II. b. iv. p. 807.

" has any inclination to be convinced of the truth " by inconteſtable proofs, nothing is more eaſy than " to produce ſuch as ſhall leave no doubt of the " certainty of what I have had the honour to tell " you." The King aſked, with ſtill greater earneſtneſs, if he was ſure he could prove what he had advanced? The Father again confirmed it. " Well," ſaid Henry, leaving him, " I will conſi- " der of this matter." And he ſent for me that inſtant.

As ſoon as I came to the Tuilleries, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the orangerie, where, as we walked, he aſked me, as if without any deſign, how the affair went on at Poitiers, concerning the Jeſuits founding a college there? I replied, that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having reſolved not to concern myſelf with them, for thoſe conſiderations I had mentioned to his Majeſty. " Think well what you ſay," replied this prince, " for they would perſuade me, that it " is you alone who prevent their eſtabliſhment in " that city." I aſſured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly nor indirectly, oppoſed their ſettling there, nor even expreſſed the leaſt diſlike to it. " Well," ſaid the King, " ſince it is ſo, take " no notice of this matter to any one." On his entrance again into the Louvre, he took Father Cotton aſide: " Who has told you theſe idle tales " of M. de Roſny?" ſaid he, " they are abſolutely " falſe, as I indeed ſuſpected they were." " They " will not be found ſo," replied the Father; and for a proof of his aſſertion, told him, that I had written ſeveral letters to the Biſhop of Poitiers, the treaſurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do any thing; expreſsly ordering them to oppoſe the ſettling of the Jeſuits there. He added, that he had ſeen theſe letters himſelf; and that they were in the hands of a man of ſtrict honour, who had allowed him to

read them. "Can you ſhew me theſe letters?" ſaid the King. "Yes, Sire," replied the Jeſuit, "whenever your Majeſty pleaſes." The King, who till now had ſuſpended his belief, could not, for this once, hinder himſelf from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will talk to you to-morrow," ſaid he to the Father, and give you all the neceſſary "orders upon this affair."

I came the next morning to the Tuilleries at eight o'clock, the King having ſent me orders to attend him very early; he talked to me of the uſual diſpatches and the preſent affairs; then taking me again into the orangerie, I gueſſed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to ſay to me "You know," ſaid he, "how much I love you, but you likewiſe know "how much I love truth, and hate all inſincerity; you have uſed it with me; and although I "never conceal any of my ſecrets from you, you "have diſſembled with me, in the anſwer you gave "me to the queſtion I asked you concerning the "Jeſuits. I am not offended at your conduct in "that affair; as they never diſcovered any great "friendſhip for you, it could not therefore be "expected, that you ſhould become their advocate; "but I am grieved to find, that you are capable of "diſſimulation, you who profeſs to be a lover of "truth and ſincerity."

My aſtoniſhment was ſo great, that I liſtened to the King in a profound ſilence; at length, recovering myſelf, "Sire," ſaid I, "this is one of the "blackeſt impoſtures that ever was invented; the "only favour I implore is, that you will inſiſt "upon a free explanation of this matter. If the "Jeſuits can prove their accuſation to be true, "inflict what puniſhment you pleaſe upon me, I "ſhall never complain; but if it is found to be "falſe, ſuffer me, Sire, I moſt humbly implore "you to do myſelf juſtice, that I may pre-

"vent

" vent such designs from being undertaken against
" me for the future; for if there is a necessity for my
" being continually employed in defending my con-
" duct, it will be no longer possible for me to at-
" tend to state-affairs, the number and weight of
" which are already more than I can well bear."
" What!" interrupted the King, " have you not
" written any thing against the Jesuits, and prevent-
" ed their founding a college at Poitiers? Think
" a little, and refresh your memory, that you may
" not engage to maintain any thing of which the
" contrary may be proved against you." " No,
" Sire," I replied, " I swear by my God, and all
" my hopes of salvation, that what I say is true."
" What malignant minds are these," pursued the King, moved with a just indignation, " which can
" never cease to envy virtue, or be weary of their
" fruitless attempts to ruin those who are faithful
" to my service? Leave this affair to me," continued he, " I will search it to the bottom, and disco-
" ver if possible, both its source and its authors."

He left me at these words to go and hear mass at the convent of the Capuchins, where he knew he should find Father Cotton; and calling him, renewed the discourse of the preceding days, and asked for the letters which he said he had seen. " These
" letters, Sire," said the Father, " are in the hands
" of a person of honour, and I will answer for
" the truth of what that person said, as well as
" that the letters he shewed me are genuine." " It
" is enough," returned the King, " but go and
" bring them to me, that I may see them; I know
" his hand writing, and his signature as well as my
" own, having received more than two thousand
" letters from him in my life." The Father, perplexed by so unseasonable an order, endeavoured to elude it, by appealing to his Majesty's knowledge of his veracity, and his aversion to all kinds of falsehood. " I am willing to believe you," said

this prince to him, " but I would alſo have others " believe you, by ſhewing them theſe letters : " therefore do not fail," purſued he in a ſevere tone, " to bring them to me ; for I am determin- " ed to ſee them, that I may convict of malice " and fraud thoſe who are really guilty. Go, and " return again immediately."

There was no reply to be made to an order ſo poſitive ; the Father retired with a low reverence ; but the King expected him in vain all the remainder of that day : he apologized for it the next morning, on account of the abſence of the perſon who was poſſeſſed of theſe letters. But there was a neceſſity to find another excuſe for returning without them, which would coſt the Father much more. He told the King, that this nobleman's valet de chambre had unfortunately thrown theſe letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters, he brought a thouſand new aſſurances of the truth of what he had advanced. The King, however, was not diſpoſed to pay himſelf with that ſort of coin : " How !" ſaid he, interrupting him, in a rage, " have they burned theſe " letters ? this is not to be believed." And perceiving that Father Cotton, who was ſenſible this affair would not reſt as it was, equivocated in his anſwers, and ſeemed deſirous, that nothing more ſhould be ſaid of it, he quitted him in diſguſt. " Roſny," ſaid he, approaching and taking me aſide, " your letters have been burnt."

I came again to his Majeſty, to propoſe an expedient to him which I thought would entirely ſilence my accuſer ; this was to prevail upon the King to write to the Biſhop of Poitiers, and the officers of that city, to produce all the letters they had received from me ; and to write to them myſelf in the cleareſt manner upon the ſubject. I carried with me all the originals of theſe letters, in which his Majeſty found nothing to take offence at : he ordered

dered his secretaries to write those letters, which were to be in his name, immediately; and sent them to Poitiers in the same packet with mine, by a courier named Constant. Upon the receipt of these letters, the bishop and the magistrates of the city sent the Sieur de la Parisiere to give his Majesty all the informations he desired. La Parisiere, in the name of all his fellow citizens, attested, with regard to me, that they had always considered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the Jesuits; and presented to the King all they had been able to collect.

Among a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the Jesuits were mentioned; three of these letters, directed to Saint Marthe the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, separately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were discussed, concluded with these words: "With regard to the Jesuits college, I know not why you make so many difficulties about that, and persist in your solicitation for the royal college, of which you have written to me, since you know, as La Parisiere has often told you from me, that you will never obtain of the King what is necessary for it, and that he absolutely commands the other should be allowed; it is your part therefore to act prudently, and do that with a good grace, which in the end you will be obliged to do whether willing or not: be it your care only, upon receiving them, to make such regulations as may not leave it in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the city or province; or make any alteration in that union maintained at present between the two religions, that the King may be served with duty and affection by all."

The fourth letter, addressed to the Bishop of Poi-

ters,

tiers, is yet ſtronger: after ſome buſineſs and ſome compliments, which made up the firſt part of it, the King read theſe words: "I always doubted, "that the Jeſuits would not find people as kind "and charitable in actions as in words: for my "own part, if the province is willing they ſhould "have a ſettlement in it, and that they will re- "ſolve to live quietly there, without embittering "the minds of the people, or doing any thing to "diſturb that harmony which at preſent ſubſiſts "between the two religions, I ſhould be glad to "ſee them in my government, and will do them "all the ſervice I can; but if they foment diviſions "there, or give riſe to any jealouſies and diſtruſts, "I had rather they were any where elſe."

The King's courier, as he paſſed through Paris, which his Majeſty had juſt quitted, and ſet out for Fontainebleau, left for me a particular anſwer to the letter I had written to the Biſhop of Poitiers, of which theſe are the contents: that Father Mouſſy, the Jeſuit, had brought him a letter from Father Cotton, in which this Father mentioned certain letters ſuppoſed to be written by me to him, againſt the eſtabliſhment and honour of the ſociety, and the complaints which this Father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his Majeſty. The Biſhop added, that after reading this letter, he had obliged Father Mouſſy to own, that his brother had been greatly to blame, to believe a matter of ſuch conſequence ſo lightly; and acted ſtill more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the King: that Father Mouſſy had ſeen all the letters, and found nothing in them which could authoriſe ſuch an accuſation, and undertook to undeceive Father Cotton, by acquainting him with what he had ſeen.

The Biſhop of Poitiers, who really believed the exiſtence of this imaginary letter of accuſation againſt

gainſt me, which Father Cotton had told him in his, had been ſent from Poitiers, and who thought, probably, that it would do both me and him ſervice to diſcover the author of it, ſent me word, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told, the preceding day, that it was ſigned Guillaume; but that no perſon knew better than Father Cotton himſelf; for although, as he was likewiſe informed, it was that Father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgot the ſubſcription of it: the Biſhop's letter is dated March 23 1605. I ſhewed it to Sillery, who ſet out for Panfou, from whence he went to Fontainebleau, to make his report to his Majeſty: but the King ordered me to bring this letter to him at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of thoſe which had been ſent me from Poitiers. I perceived that this new proof of my ſincerity had increaſed his eſteem for me.

The next day he ſent for Richelieu and Pont-Courlay, and aſked them, if they knew who it was that had ſuggeſted to Father Cotton the complaints he had made againſt me? and whether they had any ſhare in it? They replied, that very far from engaging themſelves in the affair, they had earneſtly adviſed Father Cotton never to mention to the King thoſe letters, whether ſuppoſititious, or written by ſome impoſtor under a feigned name; becauſe that if his Majeſty gave credit to my words, in matters wherein my religion might render me ſuſpected, he had much more reaſon to believe me, rather than thoſe idle reports received to my prejudice. The King anſwered, that they muſt prevail upon me to uſe the ſame moderation in this buſineſs as they had adviſed Father Cotton to, and prevent ſaid he, all occaſions of miſunderſtanding between my faithful ſervants, as well in political as eccleſiaſtical affairs. He permitted them, if they could not

not by any other means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of the blame upon himself.

I submitted with a good grace to this reconciliation: after the two agents had assured me Father Cotton had no intention to injure me, they intreated me to allow the Father to wait on me, and assure me of the truth himself. I consented, and they brought him the next day. This Father told me, that it was true he had complained of having a secret enemy, who opposed the establishment of a college at Poitiers, but that he had no thought of me. However, his Majesty had understood that he meant me, and made me believe so likewise: that although in this whole affair there was only a mistake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any disturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the most faithful services In this manner was an affair concluded, which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

It was probably in consequence of this reconciliation, that Father Richeome of Bourdeaux presented me, at the close of this year, by Father Cotton himself, a book of his writing, with a most flattering dedication to me: he takes notice, in this dedication, that although this book could not be very agreeable to the professors of my religion, (for it treated of the pilgrimage to Loretto), yet he had made no scruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the King (to whom indeed the highest elogiums were given in it); to this motive he added a second, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been assured I felt in myself a strong disposition to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, a disposition which increased every day; and reminded me of a little present he had made me the preceding year, which was a book intitled *The apologetic remonstrance of the Jesuits to the*

King *. I told him, in my anſwer, that knowing myſelf to be capable of loving even my enemies, his ſociety might from thence judge what were my ſentiments concerning thoſe who profeſſed themſelves my friends I returned him compliments for compliments, wiſhes for wiſhes, and even book for book; for I ſent him the journey to Jeruſalem, in return for that of Loretto.

If any one doubts that theſe profeſſions of eſteem, which were made me by the Jeſuits, were not ſincere, let him ſuſpend his judgement for a moment, and he will know what to aſcribe them to; I will not omit any circumſtances of the fact I am going to relate, as I do not imagine they will ſeem tedious to the reader, ſince they concern perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed at court, as the Duke d'Epernon and Grillon †, colonel of a regiment of guards.

Grillon

* This is the laſt of that Father's works againſt Antony Arnaud: he wrote many books with great ſucceſs on behalf of his order.

† Lewis Berto de Crillon or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of Dread-nought. I find in the life of the Duke of Epernon a ſtory very proper to be related along with what the Duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. "The Duke of Guiſe, to whom he had been ſent after the reduction "of Marſeilles, having a mind to try his courage;" ſays the hiſtorian, "agreed with ſome gentleman, to give a ſudden alarm before "Grillon's quarters, as if the enemy had been maſters of the town; "at the ſame time he ordered two horſes to the door; and going up "into Grillon's room, told him all was loſt; that the enemy were "maſters of the port and town; that they had forced the guards, and "broke and put to flight all that oppoſed them; that finding it impoſſible to reſiſt them any longer, he thought it was better for "them to retreat, than by ſuffering themſelves to be taken, add to "the enemy's victory; that he had therefore ordered two horſes to "be brought, which were ready at the door; and deſired he would "make haſte, for fear they ſhould give the enemy time to ſurprize "them. Grillon was aſleep when the alarm was given, and was "hardly awake whilſt the Duke of Guiſe was ſaying this to him. "However, without being at all diſconcerted by ſo hot an alarm, he "called for his cloaths and his arms, ſaying, They ought not, on "too ſlight grounds to give credit to all that was ſaid of the enemy; "and, even if the account ſhould prove true, it was more becoming "men of honour to die with their arms in their hands, than to ſur-

Grillon had at firſt the ſame unfavourable ſentiments for me with which almoſt all the courtiers were tainted; but after a little adventure which happened at the ſiege of Charbonnieres, during the war with Savoy, his friendſhip for me became ſtronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to viſit the quarter of the artillery, where I was; he happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was obſerving a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down, and myſelf, and thoſe that accompanied me, were within reach of a battery, from whence the diſcharges began to be ſo frequent, that I reſolved to defer doing the buſineſs I was about till a fitter opportunity, when we needed not uſeleſsly endanger our lives. "How! *morbleu*, my Grand Maſter," ſays Grillon to me, with an air and tone of voice peculiar to him, "are you afraid of guns "in the company of Grillon? *Arnidieu!* ſince I am "here they will not dare to come nigh us; let us "go to thoſe trees I ſee about two hundred paces "from hence, we may reconnoitre the ravelin "there with leſs danger." "Let us go then," replied I, ſmiling, "ſince we are trying who ſhall "ſhew himſelf moſt mad; but ſince you are the "oldeſt, I would willingly allow you to be the

"vive the loſs of the place. The Duke of Guiſe, not being able to "prevail on him to change this reſolution, followed him out of the "room; but when they were got half way down ſtairs, not being a-"ble to contain himſelf any longer, he burſt out a laughing; by "which Grillon diſcovered the trick that had been played him. "He thereupon aſſumed a look much ſterner than when he only "thought of going to fight, and ſqueezing the Duke of Guiſe's hand, "ſaid to him, ſwearing at the ſame time (for he always begun his "diſcourſe with the moſt horrible oaths) Young man, never make "a jeſt to try the courage of a man of honour; for, by God! hadſt "thou made me betray any weakneſs, I would have plunged my "dagger in thy heart: and then left him without ſaying a word "more." Page 176.

"wiſeſt

" wiſeſt alſo." Probably I ſhould have done better to have paid no attention to what he ſaid; however, I took his hand, and led him ſo far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whiſtle ſtrongly in our ears. " *Arnidieu!*" ſaid Grillon, " theſe rogues have no regard to the " Grand Maſter's baton, or the croſs of the Holy " Ghoſt, and may probably lame us; let us gain " that range of trees and thoſe hedges, which may " ſhelter us; for, *par la corbieu*, you are an honeſt " fellow, and worthy to be Grand Maſter: I will, " during my whole life, be one of the moſt faithful of your ſervants; let us vow an inviolable " friendſhip to each other; do you promiſe me " yours?" I took his hand which he held out to me, in token of union, and from that moment he continued to love me with a greater affection than he had ever ſhewn to any other perſon whatever, not even, as it was ſaid, to the King himſelf; and this adventure, which had given riſe to it, he talked of to every one.

By what means I regained the Duke of Epernon's friendſhip, has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year he came to me, and deſired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I repreſented to him that he had been paid already all he could with reaſon demand upon that account; and that what he farther required was but a poſſeſſion without a claim, or rather an uſurpation, which his favour with Henry III. had given him an opportunity of committing, (for this was a diſcovery I had lately made), and that I was reſolved to cut it off for the future, unleſs he brought me an order from the King, by which this ſupplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epernon, offended at this diſcourſe, complained to the King, and endeavoured to perſuade him, that I was become his enemy. His Ma-

jeſty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I oppoſed the advice given by the Count de Soiſſons, to arreſt him with Marechal Biron. This circumſtance, which D'Epernon had never before been acquainted with, made a great impreſſion upon his mind. "Do you "aſſure me, Sire," ſaid he to the King, "that it "was from M. de Roſny I received this act of "friendſhip?" "Yes, I aſſure you of it," replied this prince, "for I am not uſed to lie, eſpe- "cially in things of conſequence."

D'Epernon left Fontainebleau the ſame day, and ſet out for Paris in a hired coach, having ſent one of his own before to Eſſonne, where it was to wait for him. I had left Paris in the ſame manner, his Majeſty having ſent for me to Fontainebleau. D'Epernon and I met each other in a place over againſt a chapel above Eſſonne: the Duke ordered his coachman to ſtop, and called out to me, that he intreated I would give him an opportunity to ſay one word to me. We both alighted. "I have too "long," ſaid he, approaching me, "been under "a great obligation to you, without paying you "thoſe acknowledgements you merit from me." He then repeated what the King had juſt told him; and, in the tranſport of his gratitude, loaded me with praiſes and aſſurances of the moſt inviolable friendſhip. I replied with my uſual ſincerity, that he was under no obligation to me, on account of the circumſtance he mentioned, ſince it was the buſineſs of every honeſt man to take the part of innocence, excluſive of all intereſt and views of any kind, and that hereafter he would be ſtill better convinced, that all my intentions, with reſpect to him, had been equitable, and more ſo than he had ſometimes believed. This affair produced ſuch a perfect good intelligence between us, that, eight days after, being upon the point of ſetting out for Guienne, D'Epernon made me a viſit to requeſt

one

one of thoſe little favours of me with which a man takes pleaſure to oblige his friends.

The Duke had been informed, that ſome perſons, who were enemies to him, earneſtly ſolicited Grillon to reſign his colonel's commiſſion, in favour of another whom he had likewiſe as little reaſon to love; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he intreated me to prevent his reſigning this poſt till he returned from Guienne; and this I promiſed him. During D'Epernon's abſence, his Majeſty was told ſome things to his diſadvantage, which determined him to give the poſt to a man who was not ſo much devoted to the Duke D'Epernon as Grillon. It was not with this view, that the affair was propoſed to Grillon from the King, but becauſe he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exerciſe of this employment, and was ſoon to take a journey to Provence, where his ſtay was likely to be very long. He was given to underſtand, that it was for theſe two reaſons his Majeſty wiſhed he would diſpoſe of this employment, and promiſed to procure him a good price for it.

Grillon, ſingular and fantaſtic to the laſt degree, and already a little diſtempered in his brain, only ſhook his head without anſwering, the three firſt times that they mentioned the King's intentions to him. He afterwards ſuſpected that it was I whom the King had in view to ſucceed to his employment; and when he came to take leave of me, aſked me if it was not ſo; making me, at the ſame time, many offers of ſervice. It was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to tell him, that I would not accept of this employment, although it ſhould be given me for nothing. "How!" returned Grillon immediately: "ſure you do not think an employment "which Grillon has poſſeſſed unworthy of you: "*Arnibleau*, my Grand Maſter, you are very vain: "for ſince I have filled it, it is worthy of the beſt

"of

" of you." " I know," replied I, " that one " Grillon is of more value than a thouſand Roſ- " nies; but I have other reaſons which hinder me " from thinking of it " " Oh, very well, that is " enough," ſaid he; and then, without my ſolici- tation, engaged not to reſign it till I ſhould adviſe him to it, and then only to that perſon who ſhould be agreeable to me: and from this time, he would not give a ſerious anſwer to any of the propoſals that were made him on this ſubject.

At length the king was obliged to talk to him himſelf: he ſent for him, and repeated the ſame arguments which were uſed to him before, to pre- vail upon him to reſign a poſt, the duties of which were incompatible with the long ſtay he propoſed to make in his native country, adding a thouſand kind and obliging things upon the valour and ſer- vices of Grillon. " By what I can underſtand, " Sire," replied Grillon, " you want me to quit " your ſervice, and that I ſhould become abſolute- " ly papiſtical; for you know I am born a ſubject " to the Pope " " Ah no, Grillon," replied his Majeſty, " that is not my intention." Then add- ing new reaſons drawn from the nature of his em- ployment, " So then, in good earneſt," ſaid Gril- lon to him again, " you would have me reſign my " employment; and ſince it is your deſire, I will " not do it, at leaſt to the perſon for whom I hear " it is deſigned."

This ſpeech, indeed, was no great indication of a ſound mind. He withdrew in a rage; but the King, who knew his humour, only laughed at him: he even took a reſolution to ſpeak to him no more of the matter; ſo little was this prince inclined to uſe any conſtraint to perſons who had ſerved him faithfully. But happening to mention this little ex- travagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and ſome other captains of the regi- ment of guards, one of them ſaid, that there were

but

but two ways to render Grillon tractable; which were, to employ D'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he asked him for his post. The King replied, that he would never dispose of it at the solicitation of the Duke D'Epernon; neither did he desire that I should accept of it; but that he believed I would not refuse to intreat Grillon to yield it to the person he had in view. His Majesty did not name this person; but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompence for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet, to come to me and propose it as a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

At first, I made no other answer to these gentlemen, than that I had private reasons for not meddling in the affair. But upon their pressing me to disclose these reasons, I informed them, with my usual sincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the Duke D'Epernon, which was, as I may say, the pledge of our reconciliation. When these words were related to the King, he was immediately seized with so violent a transport of rage against me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me so much ill-will before. Doubtless the occasion of it would appear very slight, if I did not, at the same time, inform the reader, that it was in this year, and at this very time, that my enemies had then actually given me the severest blow they had ever aimed against me, and brought me in reality within an inch of my ruin, or at least of my dismission from my employments, to the last of which I think I should have readily submitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious insinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could suggest most injurious and most horrid, had been practised, and still continued to be practised

tiſed every day againſt me; all which I ſhall particulariſe hereafter: for the preſent it is ſufficient to ſay, that the poiſon had been ſo ſubtilly applied, that the King, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart.

I ſhall not here uſe the ordinary ſtyle of thoſe who have ſuffered ſuch trials, when they exclaim, with ſo much vehemence, againſt the ingratitude and injuſtice they have met with from princes. I always ſuſpect that ſuch outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny againſt the abſent ſucceſsful, nothing more is requiſite than to find the means of opening the mind to ſuſpicion; and to thoſe who, having every thing to govern and direct, have likewiſe every thing to foreſee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and juſtify this ſuſpicion. How many appearances of fidelity are there ſo well diſguiſed, that truth itſelf could hardly aſſume any other face, eſpecially before Kings, from whom one would imagine ſhe delights to conceal herſelf? But are there not many miniſters likewiſe, who, from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their ſovereigns? To all theſe conſiderations, Henry, on his ſide, added a too curious and too active a reſearch into all poſſible contingencies, wherein, for the preſent or the future, any danger to the ſtate might be apprehended; and I, on mine, too little ſolicitude to leſſen his ſuſpicion, which was not ſo much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conſcience clear and irreproachable. It is not ſurpriſing, therefore, that the artifices of my enemies had made ſo deep an impreſſion in the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down for a maxim, That any ſovereign who imagines ſuch a conduct neceſſary to ſupport his inte-

reſts and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by leſſening himſelf that reſpect and deference which he ought to oblige his ſubjects to ſhew to thoſe to whom he has confided thoſe intereſts, and by whom that honour is maintained.

When the three men whom the King had employed in the affair of Grillon, had acquainted him with what I had ſaid, which had occaſioned thoſe tranſports of rage againſt me, Villeroi, Sillery, La-Varenne, and Father Cotton, came very ſeaſonably for him to diſcharge this heavy burden. I had no reaſon to think, that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my ſtars; for he repeated my words to them, and his own ſentiments upon them, with the moſt violent emotions of rage. "How!" ſaid he to them, perceiving that they made him no anſwer, "you are ſilent, "you ſay not a word: But by heaven, (purſued he,) "all this looks ill; for ſince fire and water "mingle ſo well together, (it was D'Epernon and "me whom he meant), there muſt be higher de-"ſigns, at leaſt on one ſide, than I could ever "have imagined; but I ſhall take care to prevent "them." It was abſolutely in the power of thoſe four perſons, to whom the King addreſſed this diſcourſe, to prevent theſe ſuſpicions from going ſo far. One word only would have ſufficed; but they took care not to ſay that word; but, on the contrary, upon the King's ſaying, that while I continued faithful in my allegiance, and the performance of my duty, I was the moſt uſeful ſervant he had, and that he ſhould never ceaſe to lament the loſs of me, they, to add fuel to fire. under a feigned ſolicitude to alleviate his Majeſty's diſquiet, began to praiſe, with the utmoſt ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members

of the ſtate had of me, and the dependence which that neceſſarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreigners, and with what eaſe I could put every thing in motion, without ſtirring out of my cloſet: praiſes which I neither merited in their good nor bad ſenſe. Certainly envy can aſſume every diſguiſe, ſince it can oblige men, not only to praiſe thoſe whom they moſt abhor, but in their praiſes outdo flattery itſelf

The four confidents had reaſon to applaud themſelves for this laſt ſtroke of policy, when they found they had not allayed the King's anger againſt me, but only to mix with it the ſtrongeſt emotions of jealouſy, diſtruſt, and apprehenſion: that this was the ſtate of his mind they were well aſſured, when he told them, that, if I reſigned myſelf up to the ambitious deſire of becoming head of a party, my credit was ſo great, and my friends ſo numerous, that I was able to do the ſtate more harm, than Admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought there was nothing more neceſſary to be done, but to ſuffer thoſe black ſuſpicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly they took leave of the prince, after having thus inſtilled the poiſon into his heart Henry, in this ſtate of mind, was no longer capable either of ſecreſy or art; he ſpoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noiſe of my diſgrace, and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

I had likewiſe many friends there, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practiſing againſt me by my enemies, and of what was ſaid by the King. I am not ſure, whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occaſion as I had already done on many others of the ſame nature, in which Henry of himſelf returned from his ſuſpicions

ſpicions and diſguſts to his uſual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetually employed in ſupporting itſelf by proofs, and exaggerate its merit by praiſes: a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone, feels an honeſt ſhame at being obliged to ſecure that elevation by methods leſs worthy; yet it is evident on many occaſions, that if virtue is not aſſiſted by chance and induſtry, her own ſtrength is not ſufficient to protect her from the hatred, and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received, determined me at length to write a letter to the King. His Majeſty had not yet fixed, for any conſiderable time, in any of his palaces, but had conſumed the months of January and February in journies to Saint Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, ſtaying but a ſhort time at each place; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, was at Chantilly. I ſhall not tranſcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor no particular action to juſtify; it contained only general aſſurances of innocence, and arguments ſimple indeed and unſtudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I obſerved to his Majeſty, that, during twenty-two of the thirty-three years which I had been in his ſervice, the favours I had received from him had been but very ſmall, although I had been at conſiderable expences; yet ſince that conſideration, the lowneſs of my fortunes, and the proſpect of a decent eſtabliſhment elſewhere, which might have given ſome excuſe for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do ſo; it was not credible I ſhould do ſo now, when I ſaw myſelf ſo generouſly rewarded, when my fortune could only increaſe, and when ſo many favours, which I every year received from my King in a manner

wholly obliging, attached me no less to his person, than my offices and employments. It was not probable therefore, I said, that I should hazard the being deprived of one half of these advantages, by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the rest by the reverses of fortune: that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commission of any crimes of which I could not clear myself, in two words, whenever his Majesty informed me of it; that all those accusations were no more than mere possibilities, upon which he was too wise and too just to condemn any person, under whatever colour of supposition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praise, they might be presented to him: but setting all this aside, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty, but upon solid proofs: that I should wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and submit, without repugnance, to all the rigour of the law, and all the effects of his anger, if the smallest crime could be proved against me; being most certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was invested, he could charge me with the commission of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity; in which case I was ready, at his least command, to resign all my offices into his hands, chusing rather the obscurity of a private life, with his favour, than the splendor of the highest dignities with his hatred.

I was convinced by the answer which his Majesty sent me, that the informations I had received were not false, he addressed me in it with the title of Cousin instead of Friend: though short it was not written with his own hand; a kind of circumspection and reserve, which was not usual with him, ran through it, and not one word of consolation found a place; the King only observed to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my busi-

ness

neſs to ſuffer the world to talk of me as it pleaſed, and continue to ſerve him well. I pretended, however, to be ſatisfied with this letter, and, after having done all that was neceſſary upon this occaſion, conſcious of my own innocence, I was perſuaded, that eagerneſs and precipitation did not become me; I therefore waited till his Majeſty was willing to enter into a diſcuſſion of the affair with me, and continued to act as uſual.

The King, after ſtaying at Chantilly ſix or ſeven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his preſence was neceſſary: he began to have a fondneſs for the former, from whence alſo he wrote to me, that he was much better in health (as I ſhould perceive by his countenance as ſoon as I ſaw him); that he eat and ſlept well there, never riſing before ſeven o'clock, though he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at leaſt, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris; but I was miſtaken; he took not the ſmalleſt notice of it, although he ſtayed there eight days, and four mornings ſucceſſively conferred with me on many different affairs, as we walked in the Tuilleries: Villeroi and Sillery indeed were preſent. After giving us all the neceſſary orders, he ſet out for Fontainebleau, ſtill keeping up the ſame reſerve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

It was here, as I obſerved a little before, that they ſupplied all which was yet wanting to make his Majeſty reſolve my ruin; and, as he ſtayed there during the whole months of April and May, they had time ſufficient to effect their purpoſe, and brought him to the point we have already ſeen. Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguiſhed the ſooner, if no more fuel be added to it; and it is not ſo eaſy to ſupport it as ſome have imagined, eſpecially with princes who act on principle.

principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate like Henry's, the paſſions once inflamed will, at firſt, carry them very far from their purpoſe, but never ſo far but that they may be brought back by reaſon: and from diſpoſitions like theſe one will have violent fits of anger to ſuſtain; but to make amends, there is neither obſtinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor ſtudied artifices to apprehend. It was this reaſon which induced me to wait with more patience than I ſhould otherways have done, for the iſſue of an affair ſo complicated and perplexed; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris, or in thoſe ſhort excurſions I made from time to time to Fontainbleau, I appeared always the ſame. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themſelves, although ſo fully perſuaded of my innocence, that all of them would have willingly become ſureties for my conduct: they expreſſed great ſurpriſe at his Majeſty's behaviour to me, and could not keep ſilence at court, and probably, in ſecret, taxed the prince with injuſtice. All the kind offices of ſincere and affectionate relations I received from the family of Lorrain upon this occaſion.

At length my wiſhes and expectations were anſwered: the King finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had already advanced againſt me, he began to fear he had been a little too haſty; my paſt ſervices roſe to his remembrance; my preſent conduct, and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts: he was ſtruck with all this, and regretted that he had ſuffered any expreſſions of anger to eſcape him, being convinced, that nothing was more juſt and reaſonable than the requeſt I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day when I was at Fontainebleau, he ſent La-

Varenne

Verenne, D'Escures, and Beringhen, to me, on pretence of some business, supposing I should tell them, in confidence, my difficulties and perplexity: however, I confined myself wholly to the business they came about, and avoided mentioning any other subject. Villeroi and Sillery were sent to me afterwards for the same purpose, which I was convinced of as soon as I found, that they had nothing to say to me, but on an affair of so little consequence, that it was not worthy the the trouble they gave themselves; this was about a dispatch from Ancel *, who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to these gentlemen as I had done to the others: they had orders to make advances, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confession of my sentiments upon the treatment I received from his Majesty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themselves faithfully of their commission, and like true mediators: they turned the conversation, from business, to the danger and difficulty of serving princes, and the mortification ministers are frequently exposed to, and the uneasiness which slander must give to a man of honour: they afterwards gave me to understand more plainly, that a minister was not defended from these inconveniencies under the reigning King.

I saw clearly enough, that these two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with so much additional art on their side, as made it evident, they were very solicitous to find some occasion of realising my supposed crime, when they made their report to his Majesty. To adopt their sentiments had been insolence, and silence might have been construed into obstinacy and pride: I therefore replied, with great composure, that I did not

* William Ancel, master of the household, resident at Vienna.

doubt

doubt but that there were princes in the world such as they represented, but that his Majesty was too just and too good, to treat, in that manner, such servants whose behaviour had been irreproachable, as, for example, I believed my own to be; that I was so well persuaded of this truth, that, although I should hear the contrary from his own mouth, yet I should still think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. These words were sufficient to disconcert these malicious commissioners; but they had recourse to other artifices, to force from me some expression of complaint or anger; and, finding that they were not able to effect their purpose, they returned to tell his Majesty not what I had said, but that I had said nothing at all, and that, contrary to my usual custom, I was so wrapt up in reserve, that I had not deigned to utter a single word. From hence it was easy to judge what these two gentlemen would have said, if I had given them the least opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I saw only such messengers as those; but was fully determined not to open myself, on this subject, to the King himself, unless he led to it first: and that he might see no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to set out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would.

I waited on his Majesty as usual, to receive his orders before I went away. I found him in his closet, surrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himself booted to go to the chace. At my entrance, he arose half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me good morrow, ceremoniously calling me Monsieur: all which discovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His usual style to me was, "My friend Rosny," or "Grand "Master." But that confusion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without seeming to know

what he did, he ſtruck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one againſt the other, convinced me that I was not miſtaken, when I concluded there was neither anger nor diſguſt in this behaviour. I had likewiſe made him a much more profound bow than uſual, which, as he afterwards told me, moved him ſo much, that it was with difficulty he could refrain himſelf from falling that inſtant upon my neck. He continued muſing ſome moments longer, and then told Beringhen, that it was not a good day for the chace, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, ſurpriſed at this ſudden change of his intentions, replied a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not "a fine day," replied Henry, with ſome emotion; "I will not ride this morning, take off my boots." That done, the King entered into a converſation, directing himſelf ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, and chuſing ſuch ſubjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of ſpeaking But obſerving I was ſtill ſilent, he took Bellegarde by the hand; "M. le Grand," ſaid he, "let us walk, "I would talk with you a little, that you may ſet "out to-day on your journey to Burgundy" They had ſome private buſineſs together, which related chiefly to ſome idle tales and quarrels of women.

When they came to the door of the little ſtaircaſe which leads to the Queen's garden, the King called L'Oſerai, and, as he afterwards told me bid him obſerve whether I followed him; and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I ſtaid in the ſame place during the whole time that his Majeſty was talking to M. le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie: But I obſerved that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the King, I advanced, and deſired to know if his Majeſty had any orders for me. "And "where are you going?" ſaid he: "To Paris,

" Sire," replied I, " upon the buſineſs you ſpoke " to me of two days ſince." " Well, go then" replied the King; " I ſtill recommend to you the " care of my affairs, and deſire that you ſhould " continue to love me." I bowed low: he embraced me as uſual, and I took the road to my own houſe: but ſcarce was I got to the diſtance of three hundred paces, when, looking back, I ſaw La-Varenne running after me, crying, Monſieur, the King would ſpeak to you. His Majeſty, ſeeing me return, ſtruck into the road which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while I was yet at a diſtance, " Come hither," ſaid he: " have you no- " thing to ſay to me?" " No, Sire," I replied, " not at preſent." " Well then, I have ſomething " to ſay to you," anſwered he with precipitation; and taking my hand, led me into the grove of white mulberry-trees, and ordered two Swiſs centinels, who did not underſtand French, to be placed at the entrance of the canals which ſurrounded the grove,

The King began by embracing me twice in a moſt affectionate manner, which the courtiers eaſily perceived, for we were within view, and they carefully watched all our geſtures: then calling me *friend*, and reſuming his former familiarity with me, he told me, with a look and accent which went to my heart, that the coldneſs and reſerve with which we had for a month paſt behaved towards each other, muſt needs be very painful to two perſons, who, for three and thirty years, had been accuſtomed to the moſt unlimited confidence, and that it was time to deprive thoſe who were the cauſe of it of an occaſion of triumph, which flattered too much their hatred of me, and the envy with which they beheld his and his kingdom's increaſing proſperity The heart of this good prince opening, as he ſpoke to me, he added, that, earneſtly deſiring we ſhould both forget what had happened,

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he thought it neceſſary to leave me ignorant of nothing that had paſſed on his ſide, either with reſpect to the informations which had been given him againſt me, the effects they had produced in his mind, and, laſtly, the words and actions by which he had made thoſe unfavourable impreſſions public. He intreated, commanded, and made me promiſe to follow the example he was going to give me, to diſcover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my ſentiments both of the treatment I had received from him, and of the affair itſelf, with the ſame unreſerved freedom he ſhould uſe towards me: "that, before we leave "this place," ſaid he, "our minds may be wholly "freed from doubts and ſuſpicion, and both per-"fectly ſatisfied with each other; therefore, as I "ſhall open my whole heart freely to you, I muſt "intreat you will not diſguiſe your's from me." I gave him my word of honour, that I would moſt faithfully obey this injunction.

The King then began firſt, by naming all thoſe perſons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occaſion, as well in effects as words, among which there were ſome of all ranks and ages, and many who had ſerved his Majeſty as long as myſelf. Theſe I believe I may divide into ſeven claſſes; in the firſt I ſhall place the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown; in the ſecond, the King's miſtreſſes, with their children, and ſuch as either through the ties of blood or friendſhip ſupported their intereſts and ſerved their paſſions; among theſe were Cœuvres, Freſnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the Marchioneſs of Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated theſe two claſſes againſt me was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities: the third was compoſed of the partiſans of Spain, and the remains of the old leaguers, whoſe politics and principles of government could not a-

gree with the King's or with mine ; and this class was increased by many members of the council, Villeroi, Sillery, Fresnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the Jesuits. In the fourth, I comprehend all the Petit-maitres, court favourites, and idle insignificant persons, who load Paris with an useless weight ; these were actuated by their resentment against me, for preventing his Majesty from bestowing such favours on them as they expected, and for the opposition of my manner of living and conduct to theirs ; the number of these is too great, and themselves too contemptible, to fully the paper with their names. The fifth was made up of the seditious and malecontents of France, whom the flourishing condition of the kingdom, the wise œconomy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conspire my ruin. The financiers and other men of business made up the sixth; and they, indeed, had no reason to be much my friends.

The seventh and last class was composed of another kind of court-flatterers, somewhat inferior to those I have already mentioned : these were ever ready to give advice, and sought to make their court to the prince, by continually furnishing him with new projects for raising money ; men, for the most part, formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once shining fortune remained, than the detestable science of impoverishing the people; which, for their own interest, and by an effect of a long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his Majesty ; but finding that this trade was become much less profitable to them, since his Majesty had confided to me the sole management of his finances, they practised another art, which discovered dispositions nearly the same ; this was, to invent slanders, dress up detraction like truth, and be the venal instruments of those who either

durst

durſt not or would not appear themſelves in the ſatirical libels which filled the court: It was by them that theſe contemptible pieces were compoſed, ſpread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated: the dangerous talent of raillery, and lively ſallies of wit, opened them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an eaſy and ſpirited converſation. Although he was perhaps upon his guard againſt the malignant ſtrokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of thoſe whom at firſt he had deſpiſed or baniſhed from his preſence, found means afterwards to make themſelves be heard. in this liſt would be found none but names ſo obſcure, that they do not deſerve to be raked from the duſt, ſuch as Juvigny, Paraſis, Le Maine, Beaufort, Berſot, Longuet, Chalange, Verſenai, Santeny, &c. if Sancy, who merits the firſt place among them, had not completed his own diſhonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin, when his folly and exceſs had left him no other reſource. He was obliged to ſell his jewels, and offered them to the King, who, becauſe he was not willing they ſhould go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchaſe them.

The King, after recounting the names of the authors, gives me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could deviſe, when animated by an eager deſire to deſtroy, was practiſed by them. Where-ever the King turned his ſteps, he ſaw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the ſame kind, not to mention the political memorials with which they preſented him, under ſhew of zeal for the ſtate, and affection for his perſon. Theſe papers he found under his table, under the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow. They cauſed them to be preſented to him by perſons unknown; they were given into his own hand, in the form of petitions, and crammed into his ſleeves and pockets. I was there

there painted in the most hateful colours, and the most injurious epithets were not spared, except when, by the refinement of those treacherous praises which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his Majesty my unwearied industry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgement, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they said, became gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great sincerity, owned to me, that he was so imposed upon by these artifices, that he had almost entirely lost the good opinion he had once conceived of me; and that these wretches had contrived to fill him with such a desire of knowing all their intentions, that, at the very time, when he seemed so weary of that infinite number of libels and informations, as to throw them aside without taking any notice of them; yet afterwards he could not resist the inclination he felt to collect them together, and cause them to be read to him.

It must necessarily be, that this prince was prejudiced in a strange manner, since he could not perceive that these writings were often no less injurious to himself than to me; as, for example, when he read, that I made him mercenary and unjust to those that served him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compensation for old debts, he refused what they had a lawful claim to. They likewise imputed weakness and timidity to him, in writing to me on all these occasions; which certainly was not greatly to his honour, whether in him they made it an excuse for his avarice, or a mark of his dependence. It was by these insinuations they began at first; and while they went no farther, the King, who found only new occasions to praise my administration, was not prejudiced against me: but to put these critics to silence, he only required summaries of the state debts which I had discharged, to shew them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity, I severely reproved these persons

ſons for their too free cenſures, while, under a falſe pretence of being denied juſtice, they ſuffered expreſſions to eſcape them in their rage, with which his Majeſty had good reaſon to be offended. But they ſoon left theſe ſlight accuſations, for others of greater conſequence.

Henry, to excuſe the credulity with which he had believed theſe ſlanders, would have me judge myſelf of the libels in which they were contained. But as it would have been a a tedious task to read them all, he fixed upon one * which Juvigny had ſhewn him twelve days before, and which had been made public, becauſe in all this the different calumnies which were ſcattered throughout many other libels had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind could be. There was indeed ſome little intricacy in it; but it was writ, however, with a ſufficient force of ſtyle and judgement to perſuade his Majeſty, that it proceeded from ſome other hand than Juvigny, whoſe powers it greatly exceeded. The King, taking this paper out of his pocket, told me, that by reading it, I might poſſibly help him to find out the author, whoſe name he would be glad to know. I received it from his Majeſty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his preſence. The reader, if he pleaſes, may here ſee the ſubſtance of it; for it is not my intent to conceal any part of it.

The author whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had ever more need of ſuch a precaution) by endeavouring to clear himſelf of all ſuſpicion of envy or prejudice. The great qualities of Henry, the happineſs which France enjoyed under his

* This book was intitled, "A political diſcourſe, ſhewing the King in what reſpects his Majeſty is ill ſerved." "It was privately "handed about at Paris," ſays L'Etoile, "in MS. The ſtyle of it "was ſometimes free and bold for theſe times, when all truths were "not allowed to be ſpoke: it however did not contain any thing "againſt the King or his ſervice, but many things againſt M. de "Roſny."

reign,

reign, the advantageous situation of his affairs, made a second preamble very proper to captivate the goodwill of this prince, and still more, to lead naturally to the accusation he was to make against me, of having insolently boasted, that this happiness was my sole work; and from thence, with great art, introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for ministers of such abilities, and favourites with so much power, to engage in designs pernicious to the sovereign and the state. A crowd of examples, eloquently displayed, finished this part of the picture.

From thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions which alone could afford a just proof of his assertions, but to criticise my manners; and in the gracious reception I had lately given to all persons in general who came to my house, found an unanswerable proof of those pernicious designs; and added, that the number of persons, from the princes of the blood down to the most inconsiderable of the people, which, by this studied civility, I had gained over to my interests, was almost incredible. He attempted to enumerate this croud of partisans, which could not indeed but be very considerable, since all that this accusation was founded upon, was that complaisance and politeness of behaviour which, in France, it is the custom to treat every one with. The Prince of Conti and the Duke of Montpensier were at the top of the list; then the whole family of Lorrain; several French lords came next. My reconciliation with the Duke of Epernon, because followed by a sincere and reciprocal friendship, was misrepresented under the name of an union formed by a boundless ambition. Messieurs de Montbazon, de Ventadour, de Fervaques, d'Ornano, de Saint Geran, de Praslin, de Grammont, d'Aubeterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewise mentioned as persons whom I attached to my interest, by the

distinction with which I treated them, the services I was perpetually doing them, and the distribution I made amongst them of part of his Majesty's treasures, which I was so sparing of to all others

All this not being sufficient to give probability to those views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correspondences I carried on without the kingdom. He mentioned an expression which fell from the King of England, and which might well be considered as a mere compliment, *That the King of France was happy in having me*, and made it an argument to prove, that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic Majesty, but likewise the States general of the United Provinces, the Dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-ponts, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, the Marquisses of Anspach, Dourlach and Baden, were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the slightest service which any of them received from me, was construed into a criminal intrigue. All the Protestant bodies. whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetian senate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and by largesses from me, were said to be absolutely devoted to my interests.

After having thus made the first essay with accusations, which carried in them some little appearance of probability, the author became more hardy, and impudently hazarded others, the falsity of which appeared at the first view. According to him, I did not content myself any longer with my correspondences in foreign countries alone; but by sending his Majesty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Switzerland, I was laying up for myself immense sums. in order to retire there one day, and, as opportunities offered, make Levies of Swiss, German horse, and Lansquenets, to support the Protestant religion,

and, after the example of Admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by these troops. The author, who doubtless was sensible that a minute detail of circumstances was generally considered as a mark of truth and sincerity, particularized this event, as if he was already a witness of it: he alledged, that, by purchasing arms, iron, lead, brass, bullets, and other warlike stores, for his Majesty's magazines, I had also private magazines of my own, in each of the strongest Protestant cities, where I deposited those stores in my own name. Certainly these people would have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of these arts, if by this accusation they could have prevailed upon the King to discontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his Majesty to confide no longer in one person the management of his revenue, the use of his authority, and the administration of his affairs; but to associate with me some persons who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

While I was reading this memorial, Henry observed me with great attention, but finding that I read it as I would have done any indifferent paper in which I was not the least concerned, without saying a single word, without betraying the least emotion, or even any change of colour; "Well, "what do you think of it?" said he. "What is "your opinion of it, Sire?" replied I, "you "that have read it more than once, and kept it so "long in your hands; for my part I am not so "much surprised at these sort of writings, which "in effect are nothing but the trifling production "of foolish and wicked men, as to find that so "great a king, possessed of so much wisdom, cou-"rage, and goodness, and who has known me for "so many years, would have patience to read them "himself, and hear me read them througout in his "presence, without, at least, shewing by his anger "the

" the violence he did himself, in listening to such " calumnies, and without ordering the authors to " be sought for, to punish them severely."

After having thus spoken, I considered that the most effectual way to restore peace to the King's mind, and revive in him all his former sentiments of me, was to give a direct and particular answer to each of the accusations which my enemies brought against me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confined myself therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had still in my hands, that I might give a separate answer to each article. The rest of my enemies, who durst not attack me openly, for fear of being obliged to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this observation that I began my answer. To the presumptuous and injurious discourses of his Majesty's government, which they attributed to me, I opposed those words I had so often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the King as a model for those princes who would be good and great to form themselves by. The examples they produced of ministers who became traitors, and favourites ungrateful, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had laboured to perfect those great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illustrious ancestors. I defied them to produce a single person whether a friend or kinsman, to whom I had given any gratuity without a sufficient reason, and a particular order from his Majesty. Against the traiterous designs they imputed to me, of fomenting the civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his person, my solicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the opposition I had given on every occasion to the ill designs of the Protestants, which had drawn the whole weight of their resentment upon me.

Beſides, what advantage could I promiſe myſelf from theſe chimerical ſchemes, which I did not at preſent poſſeſs in the greateſt and moſt honourable ſtation to which any ſubject could aſpire? What could be my aim? To place the crown on my own head? my enemies themſelves did not accuſe me of ſuch a frantic ambition; to carry it out of the royal family, although it were in my power to diſpoſe of it, on whom could I fix my choice, but the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, conſecrated all my labours and my ſervices, and for whoſe intereſt I had ſhed my blood, and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they inſinuated, did I ſtill bend my whole cares to the increaſe of his glory, by thoſe noble deſigns which, if I did not ſuggeſt, I was, at leaſt, the ſole confident and promoter of? If I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his perſon, why did I ſo earneſtly ſeek to engage him in all thoſe alliances with England, and the other powers of Europe? Was not this acting directly againſt myſelf? Is it by purſuing ſuch meaſures as theſe, that ambitious and deſigning ſubjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the ſtate? Was it not rather by enervating the mind of their maſter ſoothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his paſſions, prevailing on him to violate the laws, to neglect all order and government, and to throw every part of the ſtate into confuſion? Whereas I was continually laying before his Majeſty the ſtate of his affairs, informing him of the uſe and deſtination of his money, and carrying my ſolicitude for order and œconomy ſo far, as to reproach him with even the ſmalleſt needleſs expence. I amaſſed him treaſure, filled his magazines and arſenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himſelf formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious ſubjects act, when they ſecretly undermine the foundations of their ſovereign's power. The con-

duct of miniſters is always equivocal in ſome part or other; however, I may truly ſay, that mine might ſtand the teſt of the ſtricteſt examination.

It was eaſy for me to perceive, that his Majeſty felt all the force of theſe arguments; I concluded them with imploring him, in the moſt fervent manner, to believe, that I had neither concealed nor diſguiſed from him any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed theſe aſſurances by the moſt ſacred oaths, which he knew I never uttered raſhly; I addreſſed him by all thoſe reverenced and tender epithets which had, at all times, been the expreſſions of my zeal and attachment to his perſon. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not ſuffer it, leſt thoſe who beheld this poſture might imagine I had recourſe to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me, that he was fully convinced of my fidelity, that he ſincerely repented of his too eaſy belief, and that he would never remember what was paſt, but to impreſs upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the reſult of a conference which had been ſo neceſſary to reſtore quiet to us both.

Thoſe who have any knowledge of a court, may eaſily gueſs the emotions that agitated the hearts of the courtiers, during a converſation which laſted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were obſerved; for though it was not poſſible for them to hear what we ſaid, yet they could not be ignorant of the ſubject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had uſed at the beginning of our converſation, the papers he had taken with him, the earneſt manner in which we ſeemed to diſcourſe, was ſufficient to inform them of the reſt; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected

pected the result of so important an explanation between us.

Henry was willing to tell it them himself. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was resolved to throw into the fire, he went out to the grove of mulberry trees holding me by the hand, and asked this crowd of courtiers, who were got together, what it was o'clock; they answered it was one o'clock, and that he had been walking a long time. "I have so," said the prince, in an accent which spread a paleness on every cheek; "but "there are some present who are more weary than "I am: however, to console them, I here declare "before you all, that Rosny is dearer to me than "ever, and that our friendship will continue till "death; and you, my friend," pursued he, turning to me, "go home to dinner, and love me and "serve me, for I am fully satisfied with you." Many others, in the same situation I was, would have * made use of their returning favour and interest, to exact vengeance on those who had laboured thus to procure their disgrace; but I thank Heaven that I have not the reproach to make myself, of having even entertained such a thought. I carefully concealed their names from my secretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewise suppress part of what the King said to me to their disadvantage: though they have acted in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my opinion, that this sort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind.

That I might remove all cause of uneasiness from the King, concerning the affair which has led me into so particular an account of this great difference

* The Sieur de Juvigny or Divigny, a French gentleman, author of the above-mentioned memorial, suffered for all the rest: a prosecution was carried on against him for high treason, and he was found guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiscated; but having made his escape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

between

between us, I managed Grillon with such art, that he at length consented to take thirty thousand crowns of Crequy for his post, which, in respect to Lesdiguieres, his Majesty had permitted that nobleman to purchase *. This drew many acknowledgements to me from the father-in-law to the son. Crequy came in person to make me these compliments, and added to them repeated assurances of gratitude and affection: Lesdiguieres wrote to me from Grenoble, and expressed himself in terms still stronger than Crequy had done. As we were before connected by alliances between our families, this last service they had received from me, made every one expect to see us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any person by whom I was so easily abandoned, or received so many bad offices from, after the death of Henry, as from these two men: gratitude is a virtue not to be found among courtiers.

The heart of Henry being once tainted with suspicions to my prejudice, it was not impossible but that the wound might again be opened. It was this hope that supported my enemies amidst the mortification and grief they suffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge †, and (it is with regret

* Henry IV. though extremely dissatisfied with the Duke of Epernon, who had retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injustice he pretended the King had done him on this occasion, yet insisted that M. de Crequy should wait on him as his colonel, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before him, get his commission allowed by him, and receive his orders for being invested in his post. The Duke of Epernon made him dance attendance after him for several days, and suffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. History of the Duke of Epernon, p. 112.

† "The King," says Le Grain, b. vii. "advanced the Duke of "Sully in such a manner, that he always reserved a sufficient autho- "rity over him; and who knows but it might perhaps be a pruden- "tial measure in the King, thus to expose him to the hatred of ma- "ny, against whom he was very able to protect him, in order to "keep

regret I ſay it) were almoſt as ſucceſsful as before: the affair, however, did not become as public as the former had been, becauſe it was ſooner followed by an explanation, and it is needleſs to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleaſure of believing that I ſhould ſink under their efforts, yet they were ſoon undeceived, and thoſe ineffectual attempts but increaſed their ſhame and rage; and had I been of a diſpoſition to enjoy ſuch victories, this laſt, being not leſs complete than the other, would have afforded me ſufficient matter for triumph: it was likewiſe at Fontainebleau that the King and I came to an explanation of this ſecond difference; and the morning afterwards the King ſent for me very early. As ſoon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a croſs-barred window which looked into the Queen's garden, having ſomewhat to impart to me in private; but as we paſſed, he ſaid aloud, in the preſence of the whole court, "You "cannot conceive, my friend, how eaſily and hap-"pily I ſlept this night, after having opened my "heart to you, and had all my doubts cleared up."

"keep him under apprehenſions of what might be the effects of his "failing in his duty?" This paſſage in our memoirs ſeems, at firſt ſight, to offer ſomething in favour of this conjecture: the opinion of thoſe, nevertheleſs, who think there was no artifice in the ſuſpicions of Henry IV. conceived againſt the Duke of Sully, appears to me better founded; but whether his ſuſpicions were feigned or real, I alſo think, as many other perſons of ſenſe do, that they ought to be reckoned among that Prince's defects. According to the firſt ſuppoſition, a low cunning, unbecoming the character of ſo great a king, is apparent; and according to the ſecond, a piece of injuſtice for which the firſt movements of a haſty paſſion would be no excuſe, there being a kind of agreement between this prince and his miniſter, that the firſt ſhould overlook in the character of the other, that firmneſs and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a baſe ſubmiſſion and flattery, in conſideration of a fidelity eſtabliſhed on ſuch numberleſs proofs. This is a ſufficient evidence, that the performance of the moſt important ſervices will not diſpenſe a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the moſt perfect.

He then asked me, if I did not feel the same calm satisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he should always find in me the same fidelity and affection.

In the midst of a favour so often interrupted by little jealousies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me was, that however dissatisfied my enemies might sometimes, by their insinuations, make him with me, yet it never interrupted the course of those benefits with which it was his constant custom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with respect to my eldest daughter, amidst those very storms I have mentioned *. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his Majesty, as I have formerly observed, ordered me to prefer to the Duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day, about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the King upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this subject, and told me his reasons for desiring me to reject the Duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my daughter had been proposed by the Princess Catherine to the Duchess of Rohan, and accepted by my wife, without acquainting him with it; and likewise because Mon-

* Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, against her will, had married Henry de Chabot, in the year 1645, set up a boy about fifteen years old, as being really her son by the Duke of Rohan, who died seven years before. "Many persons of credit," says Amelot, "who have seen Tancred, "(the name of this pretended heir to the house of Rohan) have assured me, that he had the topping of the Rohan family, which is "a small tuft of hair on the forehead, and that the features of his "face were remarkably like those of his supposed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended that the Duke of Rohan had a mind to purchase the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Signior for this child; it was also said, that his father and mother had kept him concealed, only that they might marry their daughter to the Count of Soissons, and afterwards the Duke of Weimar. See these curious fables in Amelot de la Houssaye, article Bethune, &c. and art. Chyphre.

ſieur and Madam de Fervaques had ſo earneſtly ſolicited his intereſt in favour of Laval, that he had promiſed them to give him to me for a ſon in-law, rather than the Duke of Rohan, who was not ſo rich indeed, but had the honour to be ſo nearly related to him, that, if he died without children, as the Princeſs his ſiſter had done, the Duke of Rohan would ſucceed to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other eſtates of the families of Albert, Foix, and Armagnac: he then added, that, for other reaſons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I ſhould break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could. Having already prepared them for this change of my reſolution, he deſired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us, in ſuch a manner, that the breaking off the match ſhould appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to ſay they had refuſed an alliance with me. He added, that he would himſelf bring the Duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the Ducheſs his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my ſon-in-law within three days, having already ſettled every thing relating to the marriage himſelf; that he would have the contract drawn up in his preſence, and would ſign it as the kinſman of both parties.

I thanked his Majeſty for the intereſt he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed, the King gave the bridegroom ten thouſand crowns for the wedding-cloaths and expences, and the like ſum to my daughter. The year before, I had married Mademoiſelle Du Marias, my wife's daughter by her firſt huſband, to La Boulaye, the ſon of him whom Henry had loved ſo much: ſhe had no reaſon to expect any other gratuity from his Majeſty,

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than that which is generally given to all the Queen's maids of honour, under the title of a preſent for the nuptial robe, and had been ſettled at two thouſand crowns: the King raiſed it to five thouſand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account.

It was uſual with his Majeſty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expences in fortifications and buildings, to ſay to me, in the preſence of the officers employed in thoſe works, who attended to know his pleaſure concerning farther improvements in them. "Well, you ſee my fortifications and "buildings are reſolved upon, what have you done "to your houſes?" To which, when I replied, as I ſeldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money; he would anſwer, "Well, ſhew me your plans, that I may know "what you would do if you had money." And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be neceſſary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thouſand livres to enable me to make thoſe alterations he pointed out to me.

However, I ſometimes requeſted favours of him which he refuſed to grant, and I ſhall not have the vanity to conceal it. He would not give the poſt which had formerly been the Baron de Lux's to my brother, or to La-Curée, for either of whom I requeſted it; telling me, that for Bethune, he deſigned a poſt in Britanny, which would ſuit him better; and that as for La-Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the poſt of lieutenant of a troop of light horſe, and the government of Chinon, which he already poſſeſſed. The truth was, he choſe to give it to Ragny who could do him greater ſervice in the province. I aſked the other favours of him in the ſame letter, the one for my nephew De Melun, and the other for La-

Boulaye: he told me, that La-Boulaye had not yet, by his ſervices, merited ſuch an inſtance of his bounty; but he granted the other, which was, the abbey of Moreilles in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refuſal from him, if it may be called ſo, in which my ſon-in-law, the Duke of Rohan, was concerned. The occaſion of it was this:

The Duke of Rohan was governor of Saint John d'Angely, of which place Des Augeaux was the King's lieutenant. It was not the governor to whom in juſtice it belonged, that named this lieutenant, but his Majeſty, who thought it neceſſary, for the good of his ſervice, to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who, in troubleſome times, had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might, in ſome degree, be independent of the governor, and in a condition to render his power ineffectual, if he ſhould not uſe it to the King's ſatisfaction, and for the advantage of the ſtate. The lieutenant, therefore, was, in reality, poſſeſſed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The Duke of Rohan, who earneſtly wiſhed to have this prerogative reſtored to the governor, intreated me to ſolicit the King for that purpoſe, a favourable opportunity offering itſelf by the ſickneſs of Des-Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. Whatever inclination I had to do my ſon-in-law this ſervice, I durſt not make the propoſal to the King directly, the requeſt having too much conformity with that ſtate of dependence into which my enemies had inſinuated I ſought to place all the * Proteſtant

* It is ſaid in the Hiſt. de la mere & du fils, vol. i. p. 15. that Henry IV. refuſed the Duke of Sully the government of Saint-Maixant, which the Queen herſelf, at the Duke's requeſt, deſired of the King for him, ſaying, prudence would not permit the making a Calviniſt maſter of that place, ſmall as it was. If any thing could make

teſtant cities. Nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his ſuſpicions. I reſolved, therefore, to ſound him firſt upon the ſubject; which I did very artfully; taking occaſion, upon the news of Des Ageaux's ſickneſs, to aſk his Majeſty whom he had thought of to ſupply his place, if he died? It was by letters that I made this attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his Majeſty's anſwer. The King, in his anſwer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of Saint John, becauſe it would not always be the Duke of Rohan, nor my ſon in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Pouſou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des Ageaux recovering of his ſickneſs, no farther ſteps were taken in the affair.

Before I quit this article of marriage, I ſhall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to Mademoiſelle de Melun, my niece, whom they thought likewiſe of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the Marchioneſs de Roubais, my aunt, having made her her ſole heir.

The family of D'Eſtrées caſt their eyes on her for a wife to De Cœuvres *; they thought themſelves ſure of the King's intereſt; and the affair was propoſed to him by M. de Vendome himſelf, to whom the King promiſed that he would ſpeak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvreen Pariſis, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it,

make one doubt of the truth of this fact, beſides M. de Sully's ſilence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole Province muſt be ſufficient.

* Francis Hannibal D'Eſtrées, Marquis of Cœuvres, Duke and Peer and Marechal of France.

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